

NEKTARIOS ZARRAS

The Passion Cycle in Staro Nagoričino*

With eight plates

The Passion cycle in the church of St George at Staro Nagoričino, which decorated by the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutybios, has not been studied systematically,¹ despite the fact that it is one of the most extensive² and best-preserved Passion cycles in Palaiologan painting. It is one of the most important examples not only in terms of iconography, but also because of its significant contribution to our understanding of other issues relating directly to the art of the Late Byzantine period.

The present study aims, through examining the iconography of the scenes, to shed light on three basic issues: first, the influence of Middle Byzantine models on the above mentioned painters; second, their relation with works of Western art; and third, the new elements in the iconography of the cycle in monuments bearing the signature of Michael Astrapas and Eutybios or attributed to them.

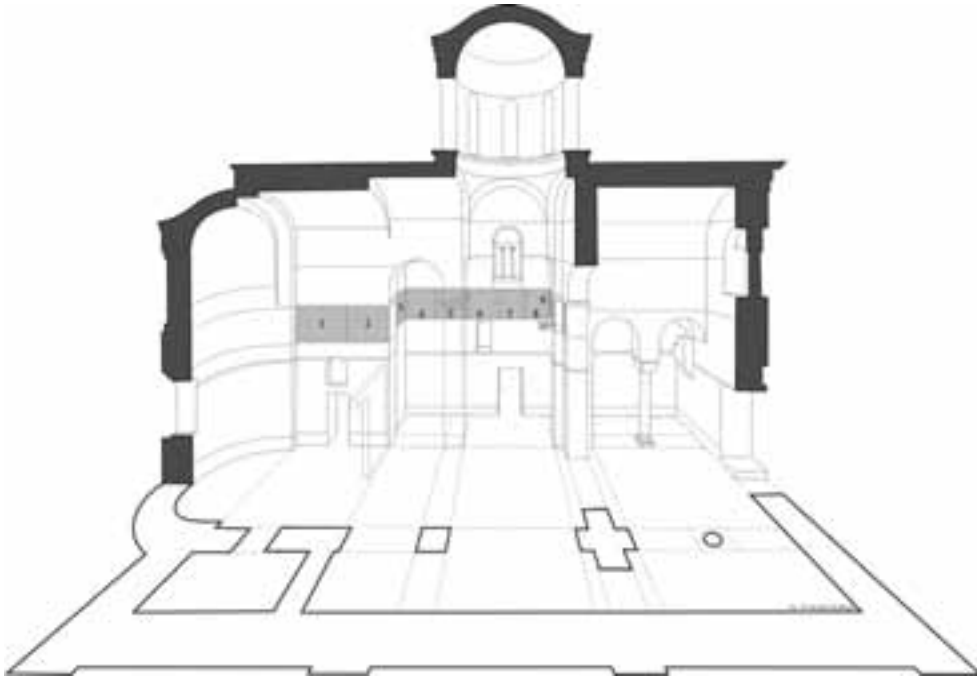
The examination of a Passion cycle as extensive as that in Staro Nagoričino, which comprises twenty-two scenes spread on the walls of the bema and of the naos, additionally raises the question of narrativity, which was to reach its climax in Palaiologan painting, but has yet to be the object of systematic research. Within this context, I will attempt, to: a) clarify the distinctive characteristics of narrativity during the Palaiologan era and b) to pin down its relation to similar artistic tendencies in the Middle Byzantine monumental painting through the study of Passion cycles of this period. The aforementioned issues will be discussed in the chapter after the iconographic analysis of the scenes. Last, it should be noted that the many-lined inscriptions of the cycle are published here for the first time,³ completed and corrected.

* I thank Mrs. Alexandra Doumas for her valuable help in editing the English text and my colleague Giorgos Fousteris for preparing the plans 1–2.

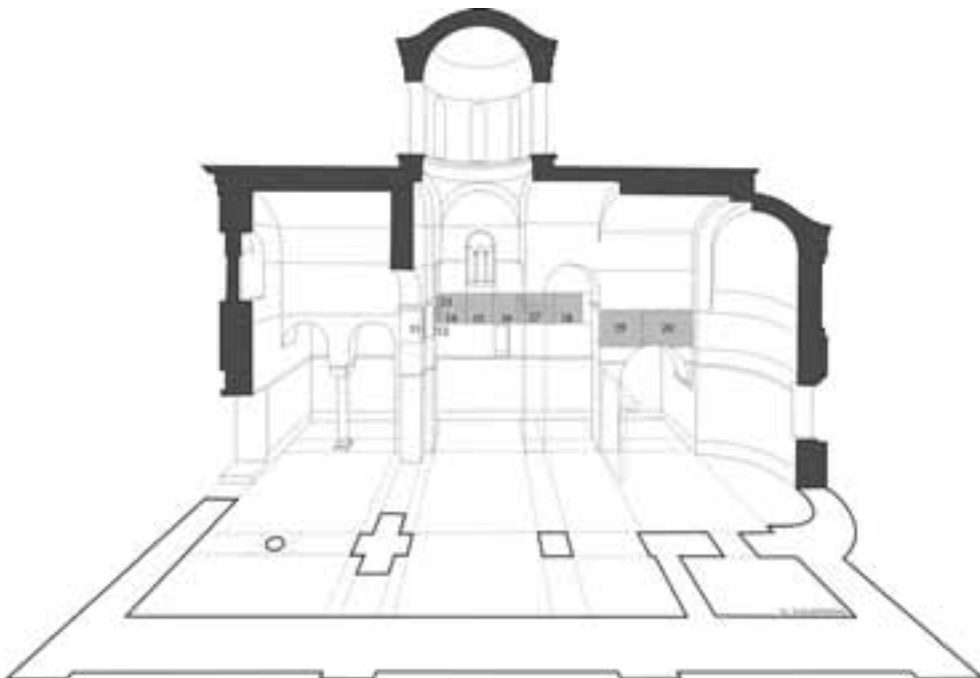
¹ On the Passion Cycle in Staro Nagoričino see G. MILLET – A. FROLOW, *La peinture du moyen âge en Yougoslavie (Serbie, Macédoine et Monténégro)*, III. Paris 1962, pls. 83–94. H. HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Malerschule des Königs Milutin*. Giessen 1963, 80–96. P. MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij*. Skopje 1967, 101–102, figs. 32–33, pls. CXL–CXLVIII. M. SOTIRIOU, *Ἡ Μακεδονικὴ σχολὴ καὶ ἡ λεγόμενη σχολὴ τοῦ Μιλούτιν*. *DChAE* 4/5 (1966–1969) 10–18, pls. 1, 3, 5–10. B. TODIĆ, *Staro Nagoričino*. Belgrade 1993, 110–113. IDEM, *Serbian Medieval Painting. The Age of King Milutin*. Belgrade 1999, 132–138, 322.

² The most extensive Passion cycle with thirty-three scenes is depicted in the monastery of Dečani. See V.R. PETKOVIĆ – D. BOSKOVIĆ, *Manastir Dečani*, II. Belgrade 1941, pls. CXCVI–CCXIV. S. KESTIĆ-RISTIĆ, *Cycle of the Passion of Christ*, in: V.J. DJURIĆ (ed.), *Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani. Material and Studies*. Belgrade 1995, 121–130. B. TODIĆ – M. CANAK-MEDIĆ, *Manastir Dečani*. Belgrade 2005, 379, 384, 386–387, figs. 292–293, 307–309, 310–311.

³ The earlier publications of the inscriptions in the Passion Cycle, by: N.L. OKUNEV, *Grazda za istoriju srpske umetnosti*, I. Crkva sveti Džordža u Starom Nagoričinu. *Glasnik Skopsog naučnog društva* 6 (1930) 87–120. V.R. PETKOVIĆ – P.J. POPOVIĆ, *Staro Nagoričino, Psača, Kalenić*. Belgrade 1933, 10–11 and TODIĆ, *Staro Nagoričino* 76–77 are either not complete or present considerable problems in both the reading and the transcription of them, which is why it was decided not to use them in the present study. With the help of the published wall-paintings and, primarily, research and photography *in situ*, as far as the present condition of them permits, the gaps in the inscriptions were completed wherever this was possible.



Sch. 1. Staro Nagoričino. Perspective section of the south wall. The Passion Cycle
 1.1 The Last Supper • 1.2 The Washing of the Feet • 1.3 Christ lecturing the Apostles after the
 Washing of the Feet • 1.4 The Prayer in Gethsemane • 1.5 Judas receiving the Pieces of Silver •
 1.6 The Betrayal of Judas • 1.7 Christ Tried before Caiaphas • 1.8 Christ Tried before Annas •
 1.9 Christ Judged by Pilate • 1.10 The Three Denials of Peter



Sch. 2. Staro Nagoričino. Perspective section of the north wall. The Passion Cycle
 2.11 The Remorse of Peter • 2.12 Christ Judged by Herod • 2.13 Pilate turns Christ over to the Jews
 • 2.14 The Mocking of Christ • 2.15 The Way to Galvary • 2.16 The Ascent of the Cross • 2.17 The
 Crucifixion • 2.18 Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate • 2.19 The Descent from the Cross • 2.20 The
 Entombment

The Last Supper (sch. 1.1)⁴ Inscription: *O ΔΕΙΗΝΟC*. The Last Supper of Christ with his disciples is described only in the synoptic gospels (Matthew 26:20–29, Mark 14: 17–25, Luke 22:7–19). The composition (fig. 1) is arranged in front of a high wall, which is interrupted right behind the figure of Christ by a rectangular opening, projecting from the wall and crowned by a shell ornament supported on columns, a typical feature in monuments decorated by the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutybios.⁵ At the midpoint of the semicircular table is Christ, who at once defines the vertical axis and emphasizes the symmetry of the representation. He is distinguished from his disciples by the monumentality of his figure and raises his right hand in blessing, while holding a rolled scroll in the left. The position of Christ in the middle of the table, which has been considered⁶ a Western influence, is encountered in monumental painting from the late thirteenth century, as can be seen for example in the Peribleptos at Ochrid (1295)⁷ and in the Protaton (*ca* 1300)⁸ on Mount Athos. The representation in Staro Nagoričino also displays similarity to the corresponding scenes in Bogorodica Ljeviška (1309–1313)⁹ at Prizren, in the exonarthex of the Vatopaidi monastery on Mount Athos (1312),¹⁰ in Gračanica (1319–1321),¹¹ the Chilandar monastery on Mount Athos (1320/21),¹² St Nikolas Orphanos at Thessaloniki (post-1320),¹³ Kučevište (1331),¹⁴ Christ Pantocrator at Dečani (1345–1348)¹⁵ and the monastery of Markov (1376–1381).¹⁶ In the Late Byzantine period the type created in the Early Christian period also lives on, attuned, of course, to the Palaiologan manner, with Christ on the left side of the table, as for example in Sopoćani (*ca* 1270),¹⁷ in the naos of the Vatopaidi monastery,¹⁸ in the Hodegetria monastery (Aphentiko, second decade of the 14th century)¹⁹ and the Peribleptos (1370–1380)²⁰ at Mystras and in St Niketas at Čučer (1321/22)²¹.

Around the table, arranged symmetrically on either side of Christ, are the disciples, whose gestures express their surprise at his words. John inclines his head to the level of Lord's chest, while pointing at himself with his right hand, in accordance with the gospel text. The artist places Judas in his usual place among the apostles and in the familiar pose, outstretching his hand towards the plate of bread. It is noteworthy that the portrayal of both disciples, John and Judas, is a particular element of the iconography of the Last Supper in monuments of the Early Palaiologan period. Their

⁴ On the iconography of the scene see G. MILLET, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIVe, XVe, et XVIe siècles d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont-Athos*. Paris 1960, 286–309. K. WESSEL, *Abendmahl und Apostelkommunion*. Recklinghausen 1964. IDEM, *Abendmahl*. *RbK* 1 (1966) 2–11.

⁵ I mention, for example, the representation of the Supper at Emmaus in Gračanica. See V.R. PETKOVIĆ, *La peinture serbe du moyen âge*, I. Belgrade 1930, pl. 51b. B. TODIĆ, *Gračanica-slikarstvo*. Belgrade – Pristina 1998, pl.VI.

⁶ MILLET, *Recherches* 298–300

⁷ MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Deloto*, figs. 32.1, 82.1.

⁸ G. MILLET, *Monuments de l'Athos, I: Les peintures*. Paris 1927, pl. 26.2. E.N. TSIGARIDAS, *Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος. Ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Πρωτάτου*. Thessaloniki 2003, figs. 64–65.

⁹ D. PANIĆ – G. BABIĆ, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*. Belgrade 1975, pls. XVI–XIX.

¹⁰ MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Deloto*, fig. 119.

¹¹ B. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques (Les monuments de la peinture serbe médiévale 7)*. Belgrade 1989, sch. IV.1.

¹² MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 68.1.

¹³ A. TSITOURIDOU, *Ὁ ζωγραφικὸς διάκοσμος τοῦ Ἁγίου Νικολάου Ὁρφανοῦ στὴ Θεσσαλονίκη*. Thessaloniki 1986, pl. 32.

¹⁴ I.M. DJORDJEVIĆ, *Slikarstvo XIV veka u crkvi sv. Spasa u selu Kučevištu. Zbornik za Likovne Umetnosti* 17 (1981) 92, fig. 12.

¹⁵ PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, *Dečani*, pl. CXCVI.

¹⁶ G. MILLET – T. VELMANS, *La peinture du Moyen âge en Yougoslavie, IV*. Paris 1969, pl. 83, fig. 156.

¹⁷ V.J. DJURIĆ, *Sopoćani*. Leipzig 1967, sch. on page 132.

¹⁸ MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 87.2. E.N. TSIGARIDAS, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού της μονής Βατοπεδίου*, in: *Byzantium and Serbia in the 14th Century*. Athens 1996, 414, fig. 177. IDEM, *Τα ψηφιδωτά και οι βυζαντινές τοιχογραφίες*, in: *Ιερά Μεγίστη Μονή Βατοπαιδίου, Β'*. Mount Athos 1996, 249, fig. 213.

¹⁹ G. MILLET, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra*. Paris 1910, pl. 103.1.

²⁰ MILLET, *Mistra*, pl. 120.2.

²¹ MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture*, pl. 42.3. MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, *Deloto* fig. 32.3.

position differs from monument to monument but the one figure is always in direct relation to the other. So, the two disciples are depicted either on the right (Prilep, Vatopaidi-naos, Gračanica) or the left (Vatopedi-narthex, Čučer) or on either side (Protaton) of the Lord, or, last, diagonally opposite one another (Peribleptos at Ochrid, Bogorodica Ljeviška, Staro Nagoričino, Chilandar, St Nikolaos Orphanos). In all cases the different rendering of the emotion in the figures of John and Judas is characteristic of the dramatic content of the episode.

The Washing of the Feet (sch. 1.2)²². Inscription: *O NIITHP*. The episode is described only in the Gospel of John (13:4–11). The scene is set in front of an elaborate architectural backdrop, consisting of a high wall fronted by a columned arcade. On the right is Christ, standing with the *lentium* tied round his waist, in accordance with the iconographic type elaborated in Early Christian times.²³ He bends slightly to the fore, raising his right hand in a gesture of speech, while with the left he urges Peter, sitting upon a rectangular table, to put his feet in the basin, as described in the gospel passage (John 13:7–9). The embarrassed disciple brings his right hand up to his head, a gesture known from the ninth century,²⁴ while with his left he pulls his himation up above the right knee. John, further behind, follows Peter's example and loosens his sandals, a detail depicted frequently in monuments of this period.²⁵ The rest of the disciples, who fill the left part of the representation, are shown standing, discussing animatedly and visibly agitated, as conveyed by their gestures.

Christ's gestures in Staro Nagoričino are rendered in virtually the same way much earlier, specifically in the Washing of the feet in Psalter 61, f. 63r²⁶ (second half of the 9th century), in the Pantokrator monastery on Mount Athos. In the Middle Byzantine period, the Early Christian type continues in use,²⁷ with Christ washing Peter's feet, while concurrently one other type is crystallized, in which Christ dries the disciple's feet. The first type, which is known from the Rossano Gospel, is encountered in the Lectionary in the Library of Saint Petersburg, cod. gr. 21 (mid-10th century)²⁸ and in Cappadocia,²⁹ while the second, which is commoner from the eleventh century, is depicted in the Nea Moni on Chios (1049–1055)³⁰, in the Lectionary of the Dionysiou monastery, cod. 587 (second half of the 11th century), f. 52r³¹ and in a twelfth-century icon with scenes from the Passion in the Sinai monastery,³² to cite just a few examples.

In the Palaiologan period, and particularly the phase examined here, painters avoided representing the moment of the washing of the feet. In monuments from the first half of the fourteenth cen-

²² On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, Recherches 310–325. K. WESSEL, Fusswaschung. *RbK* 2 (1971) 595–608. H. GIESS, Die Darstellung der Fusswaschung Christi in den Kunstwerken des 4.–12. Jahrhunderts. Rome 1962. G. SCHILLER, Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst, 2. Gütersloh 1968, 51–58.

²³ I mention the scene in the Rossano Gospel. See P. SEVRUGIAN, Der Rossano-Codex und die Sinope Fragmente. Miniaturen und Theologie. Worms 1990, 58, pl. 10.

²⁴ This gesture occurs in the Chludov Psalter see M.V. ŠČEPKINA, Miniatury hludovskoi Psaltyri: Greceskii ilustrirovannyi Kodeks IV veka. Moscow 1977, f. 50v.

²⁵ I mention indicatively the Protaton, Vatopedi-naos, Gračanica and Čučer.

²⁶ S. DUFRENNE, L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du moyen âge, I: Pantocrator 61, Paris. grec. 20, British Museum 40731 (*Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques* I). Paris 1966, 25, pl. 8.

²⁷ On this type see MILLET, Recherches 310–313.

²⁸ C. R. MOREY, Notes on East Christian Miniatures. *The Art Bulletin* 11 (1929) 83–84, fig. 96. K. WEITZMANN, Die byzantinische Buchmalerei des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts. Berlin 1935, pl. LXVI, II, fig. 396.

²⁹ The Washing of the Feet is not often encountered in the churches of Cappadocia and the scene at Ayvali Kilise is a characteristic sample of this type. See N. and M. THIERRY, Ayvali Kilise ou pigeonnier de Gülli Dere église inédite de Cappadoce. *CahArch* 15 (1965) 112–113, fig. 10. J. A. CAVE, The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Kiliçlar Kilise: Aspects of Monumental Decoration in Cappadocia. Pennsylvania State University 1984, 132.

³⁰ D. MOURIKI, Τα ψηφιδωτά της Νέας Μονής Χίου. Athens 1985, A' 197–199, B', pl. 94–95, 254.

³¹ S.M. PELEKANIDES – P.K. CHRISTOU – Ch. MAUROPOULOU-TSIUOMI – S.N. KADAS, Οι θησαυροί του 'Αγίου Όρους. Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα, A'. Athens 1973, fig. 223.

³² G. and M. SOTIRIOU, Εικόνες της Μονής Σινᾶ. Athens 1958, 81, fig. 66.

ture, diversity is observed mainly in the way in which Christ is rendered in relation to Peter. In the Protaton (ca 1300) and in the naos of the Vatopedi monastery (1312),³³ Christ raises one hand in a gesture of speech and with the other holds the disciple's feet, which gesture alludes to the washing of the feet.³⁴ In Bogorodica Ljeviška (1309–1313),³⁵ St Nikolaos Orphanos (post-1320),³⁶ the exonarthex of Vatopedi (1312), Dečani (1345–1348)³⁷ and in the icon in the Vlatadon monastery (third quarter of the 14th century)³⁸ in Thessaloniki, Christ dries the disciple's feet. The representation in Staro Nagoričino displays greater similarity in both the treatment of the two protagonists and of certain details to that in the Peribleptos at Ochrid (1295),³⁹ in Gračanica (1319–1321),⁴⁰ and other monuments⁴¹ in which Christ raises the right hand in a gesture of speech, while with the left he shows Peter the basin and persuades him to put his feet in it. Last, the other disciples are normally shown sitting on various types of benches (Protaton, Vatopedi, Chilandar, St Nicholas Orphanos, Kučevište) or, with the exception of Peter and in some cases John, standing (Gračanica, Čučer) with gestures of amazement and awkwardness characteristic of the Palaiologan period.

Christ lecturing the Apostles after the Washing of the Feet (sch. 1.3). Inscription: *O X(PICTO)C ΔΙΑΚΩΝ ΤΟΥC ΜΑΘΗΤΑC ΑΥΤ(ΟΥ) ΛΕΓ(ΩΝ) ΙΔΑΤ(Ε) ΤΙ ΠΕΠΗΚΑ ΗΜΗΝ/ Η ΟΥΝ ΕΓΩ Ο Κ(ΥΡΙΟ)C Κ(ΑΙ) Ο ΔΙΑΚΑΛΟC ΕΝΨΑ ΗΜ(ΩΝ) ΤΟΥC ΠΟΔΑC ΟΦΙΛΗ/ Κ(ΑΙ) ΥΜΗC ΑΛΛΗΛΩΝ ΝΙΠΤΙΝ ΤΟΥC ΠΟΔΑC.*

The above mentioned inscription is one of the few lengthy inscriptions of the Passion cycle based on the Evangelic text, however not copying the original word for word. Namely, the first line *O X(PICTO)C ΔΙΑΚΩΝ ΤΟΥC ΜΑΘΗΤΑC ΑΥΤ(ΟΥ) ΛΕΓ(ΩΝ)* is invented by the painter to function as an introduction to the text which will follow and bears a number of differences in comparison to the original biblical text. (Joh. 13: 14).

The scene (fig. 2) unfolds in front of an austere architectural backdrop, comprising a straight wall, which continues to form a high monumental gateway with colonnaded propylon, behind Christ's figure. Christ, on the left, sits on a parallelogram bench and rests his feet on a footstool. He holds a closed scroll in his left hand and raises his right in a gesture of speech, addressed to the standing disciples on the right, who listen in wonderment to his words and gesture accordingly.

In Staro Nagoričino the scene of the Lecture after the Washing of the Feet is not linked with the iconography of the subject in the Middle Byzantine period,⁴² in which Christ is depicted in the usual type of the teacher, that is standing and flanked by his disciples. Rather, it is rendered in accordance with the iconographic type that was created most probably in the late thirteenth century,

³³ MILLET, Athos, pls. 22.1, 90.2.

³⁴ In the patristic literature, the washing of the Disciples' feet is associated with their baptism and with the liberation from the chains of death. I mention as an example the explanation given by John Chrysostom in his 70th Homily 'In sanctum Joannem Apostolum et Evangelistam', *PG* 59, 384. For the theological interpretation of the *Nipteras* see Ch. NIEMAND, *Die Fusswaschungszählung des Johannesevangeliums. Untersuchungen zu ihrer Entstehung und Überlieferung im Urchristentum.* Rome 1993.

³⁵ R. HAMANN-MAC LEAN – H. HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien vom 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, 3. Giessen 1963, figs. 196–197. PANIĆ-BABIĆ, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, sch. on page 126.

³⁶ TSITOURIDOU, 'Άγιος Νικόλαος', pl. 33.

³⁷ PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, *Dečani*, pl. CXCVI.

³⁸ A. TOURTA, *Εικόνα με σκηνές παθῶν στὴ Μονὴ Βλατάδων.* *Makedonika* 22 (1982) 159–160, fig. 2b.

³⁹ HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Malerschule*, sch. on page 86.

⁴⁰ HAMANN-MAC LEAN – HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, fig. 340.

⁴¹ I cite as examples Čučer (MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture* pl. 42.3), Kučevište (DJORJEVIĆ, *Slikarstvo* 92, fig. 15), Pološko (I. DJORJEVIĆ, *Zidno slikarstvo srpske vlastele.* Belgrade 1994, fig. 35) and Treska (J. PROLOVIĆ, *Die Kirche des Heiligen Andreas an der Treska. Geschichte, Architektur und Malerei einer palaiologenzeitlichen Stiftung des serbischen Prinzen Andreaš* [*Öst. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., Denkschriften* 253]. Vienna 1997, fig. 54).

⁴² For example, Laur. VI 23 (T. VELMANS, *Le tétraévangile de la Laurentienne*, Florence, Laur. VI 23. Paris 1971, 50, pl. 63, fig. 293).

of which the earliest known example is the representation in the Protaton (*ca* 1300),⁴³ and which was used subsequently in the Vatopedi monastery⁴⁴ (1312). The painters Michael Astrapas and Eutychios from Thessaloniki, who shared the same artistic and spiritual background as the painters of the aforementioned monuments, were to use *par excellence* this type in their works, as is apparent in the scene discussed here, as well as in Saint Niketas at Čučer (1321/22).⁴⁵ From the mid-fourteenth century, the scene of the Lecture after the Washing of the Feet evidently declined in popularity and is depicted only rarely in monumental painting of the period, the best-known example being in church of the Virgin at Matejić (1346–1355).⁴⁶

The Prayer in Gethsemane (sch. 1.4)⁴⁷ Inscription: Destroyed. The episode of Christ praying in the garden of Gethsemane is mentioned in the Synoptics (Matthew 26:36–46, Mark 14:32–40, Luke 22:39–46). The right part of the scene is largely destroyed. In the rocky landscape of Gethsemane, the figure of Christ praying is depicted twice: in the first instance the Lord is shown standing and wearing only the chiton, turned to the left and outstretching his left hand, while the right is brought up to the mouth, expressing his anguish; (fig. 3) in the second instance, the Lord kneels upon the highest point of the crag. Unfortunately, all that survives of the kneeling figure are the hands, which touch the rocky ground. Above the kneeling Christ fly angels, in accordance with the passage in Luke's gospel (22:13). Preserved in fragmentary condition in the right part of the composition is the group of sleeping apostles.

In its extant part the scene, which is known from Early Christian times, follows the iconographic type created in the Middle Byzantine period⁴⁸ and used, as a rule,⁴⁹ in the fourteenth century, in which Christ is depicted thrice: twice in the left part of the composition, standing and prostrate, praying, and once in the right part, standing behind the sleeping disciples and conversing with Peter. Consequently, in the destroyed right part of the representation in Staro Nagoričino, on the one hand the conversation between Christ and Peter must have been depicted, and on the other flying angels above the kneeling Lord. However, there are differences in the iconography of the subject between the Middle Byzantine and the Palaiologan period, which are identified in details such as the gesture of Christ, who brings the right hand to his mouth, in the himation cast on the ground, since Christ wears only the chiton, and in the depiction of the disciples and the rendering of the space.

This iconographic type of the Middle Byzantine period, attuned to the Palaiologan manner, had already been used by Michael Astrapas and Eutychios in the Peribleptos at Ochrid (1295).⁵⁰ This is one of the earliest examples, with which Staro Nagoričino is closely related in iconography. Similarities between the two scenes are observed in the pose of the praying Christ without himation, standing and kneeling, in the himation cast on the ground, as well as in the poses of the sleeping

⁴³ MILLET, Athos, pl. 20.1. TSGARIDAS, Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος, fig. 70.

⁴⁴ MILLET, Athos, pl. 89.1. TSGARIDAS, Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού *op.cit.* (note 17), figs. 180, 184. IDEM, Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος, figs. 164–165.

⁴⁵ MILLET – FROLOW, La peinture, pl. 42.4.

⁴⁶ E. DIMITROVA, Manastir Matejče. Skopje 2002, fig. XXVI.

⁴⁷ On the iconography of the scene see E. SANDBERG-VAVALA, La croce dipinta italiana e l'iconografia della Passione. Verona 1929, 225–228. MILLET, Recherches 654–655. SCHILLER, Ikonographie 58–61. K. WESSEL, Gethsemane. *RbK* 2 (1971) 783–791.

⁴⁸ In this period, apart from the tendency to illustrate the Gospel text with several episodes, a synoptic yet fully narrative iconographic scheme was created, in which Christ is depicted a total of three times. Characteristic examples of this type are codex 587, f. 66r in the Dionysiou monastery on Mount Athos (PELEKANIDES, Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα, fig. 226) and cod. 5 of Bibl. Palat. in Parma (SCHILLER, Ikonographie, fig. 148).

⁴⁹ Among the most striking exceptions to this type is the representation on the icon in the Vlatadon monastery, where Christ is depicted twice. See TOURTA, Εικόνα με σκηνές παθῶν 160–161, pl. 3a.

⁵⁰ MILLET – FROLOW, La peinture, pl. 5.2.

disciples, the most characteristic being the disciple lying supine exactly in front of the group. The same iconographic type is repeated in the Protaton⁵¹ and with minor differences in several monuments.⁵²

Judas receiving the Pieces of Silver (sch. 1.5) Inscription: Destroyed. On the left, Judas is depicted taking the thirty pieces of silver from the seated high priests, as mentioned in the gospel pericope (Matthew 26:15). The group of Jews is depicted behind a large oblong table, upon which are the pieces of silver, whose shape does not resemble coins, but large rings (fig. 4).

In the Early Christian period,⁵³ the iconographic subject of Judas handing back the pieces of silver to the high priests is known. In the Middle Byzantine period, the pact between the Jews and the disciple to hand over the Lord, sealed by Judas receiving the silver pieces in a purse, is depicted in illuminated manuscripts.⁵⁴

In the Palaiologan period, the iconographic scheme changes and the pieces of silver are no longer in the purse but on a table, as in Staro Nagoričino. The scene is encountered only rarely in Passion cycles in monuments from the reign of Milutin and later. Nonetheless, for all its rarity, the scene with Judas taking the pieces of silver, as rendered in Staro Nagoričino, must have been used throughout the Palaiologan period, judging by the representation of the subject in the chapel in the tower of Lublin Castle (1418),⁵⁵ which resembles quite closely that of the Serbian monument.

The Betrayal by Judas (sch. 1.6). Inscription: *Η ΠΡΟΔΟ[CIA]*. After the interpolation of the scene of Judas receiving the pieces of silver, the painter returns to the garden of Gethsemane, that is, to the same spatial-temporal unit, to represent the Betrayal.⁵⁶ In the impressive composition (fig. 5) the multitude is in triangular arrangement with the protagonists and the leading figures, who bring the action to a climax, depicted in the foreground and forming the base of the triangle, while the rest of the mob decreases gradually into the depths of the garden, forming the apex.

At the centre of the composition, Judas, in impetuous movement from the left, rushes to kiss Christ, whom he grasps by the right shoulder. The Lord, with sad and serene expression, turns right, towards his disciple, raising his right hand in a gesture of speech and holding a rolled scroll in the left. Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios depicted the group of Christ and Judas in the same manner in the Peribleptos at Ochrid (1295). This scheme was used canonically by the workshop of the two Thessalonikan painters, as well as by painters artistically associated with them, as can be seen in

⁵¹ The scene in Protaton (MILLET, Athos, pl. 20.2. TSGARIDAS, Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος, figs. 72–73) is rendered in exactly the same way, as in the Peribleptos and in other monuments from Milutin's reign, with Christ depicted praying twice and not once, as noted by TSITOURIDOU, "Άγιος Νικόλαος 113.

⁵² The Athonite monasteries of Vatopedi and Chilandar (MILLET, Athos, pl. 70.2, 91. 1–2), in Gračanica (HAMANN-MAC LEAN – HALLENSLEBEN, Die Monumentalmalerei, fig. 339), in Čučer (MILLET – FROLOW, *op. cit.* pl. 43.1. HAMANN-MAC LEAN – HALLENSLEBEN, *op. cit.* fig. 239), in Dečani (PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, Dečani pl. CXC VII), in Pološko (ČORNAKOV, Pološki Manastir Sveti Gorgi. Skopje 2006, fig. on p. 82), in Matejić (V.R. PETKOVIĆ, La peinture serbe, pl. 136b) and in Treska (PROLOVIĆ, Treska 154, fig. 58).

⁵³ I mention the scene in the Rossano Gospel, in which the Handing back of the pieces of silver is depicted with the Hanging of Judas. See SEVRUGIAN, Der Rossano-Codex 74-76, pl. 15. N. ZARRAS, Ο απαγχονισμός του Ιούδα στη βυζαντινή τέχνη. *Archaeologia* 99 (June 2006) 32, fig. 2.

⁵⁴ I cite as examples the Psalters of Chludov (ŠČEPKINA, Miniatury Hludovskoj f. 40v) and of Bristol, fols. 57v, 68r (DUFRENNE, L'illustration 57, pl. 51), and from the 11th century Par. gr. 74 (H. OMONT, Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle, II. Paris 1908, pl. 169). See also A.G. TOURTA, The Judas Cycle? Byzantine Examples and Post Byzantine Survivals, in: Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil, hrsg. von Guntram Koch. Wiesbaden 2000, 327.

⁵⁵ TOURTA, *op.cit.* 328, fig. 8.

⁵⁶ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, Recherches 326–344. SCHILLER, Ikonographie 62–66. SANDBERG-VAVALA, La Croce 233–241. Ch. PAPA KYRIAKOU, Η Προδοσία του Ιούδα. Παρατηρήσεις στην μεταεικονομαχική εικονογραφία της παράστασης. *Byzantina* 23 (2003) 233–260.

Prilep,⁵⁷ the Protaton⁵⁸ and other monuments.⁵⁹ Minor differences are observed in the movement mainly of Christ, who either turns his head towards Judas or tries to avoid his disciple's perfidious kiss. Characteristic is the case of Arilje (1296),⁶⁰ where Christ turns his head completely towards the opposite side, where Peter stands, and raising his hand towards his disciple tells him to put his knife back in its sheath, as recorded in the Gospel of Matthew (26:52).

In the Betrayal scene in Staro Nagoričino, Christ is flanked on the left by a soldier, without armour but wearing a short tunic and gaiters, who with his left hand tugs at the Lord's himation, while at the same time threateningly brandishing his sword with the right. This figure is typical of the iconographic development of the subject in the monumental paintings of Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios, and indeed of the Palaiologan period in general. So, in the Peribleptos, where the scene has a pronounced military character, this soldier next to Christ holds a spear, which in the rest of the monuments was to be replaced by the sword.

Depicted behind these three figures is the angry mob of the Jews, holding clubs, torches and large lamps. Conspicuous in the left part of the scene are two mature figures: the first, clad in a short tunic, his legs apart and shaking his club menacingly, originates from the Middle Byzantine period,⁶¹ while the second, holding a staff and a lantern, is of Palaiologan inspiration. Characteristic is the figure of the youth on the left behind Judas, who with vigorous movement, as conveyed by his billowing himation, and holding an object in both hands, hurries aggressively towards Christ. This figure of a young or a mature man, usually holding a club, is typical in the Palaiologan period, as attested by its presence in the Protaton, Čučer, St Nikolaos Orphanos and Treska. By contrast, in other monuments, such as the Peribleptos, more soldiers with swords are depicted.

At the right edge of the scene of the Betrayal, in the foreground, is the figure of Peter cutting off the ear of Malchus, servant of the chief priest. In the Middle Byzantine period this episode appears on either the right or the left of the representation, with both figures usually standing, as in the gospel books in Paris, Par. gr. 74 (second half of the 11th century), f. 55v,⁶² and Florence, Laur. VI. 23 (early 12th century), f. 55r,⁶³ in Monreale⁶⁴, as well as later, in the thirteenth century, as in Par. gr. 54.⁶⁵ From the late thirteenth and the early fourteenth century, the episode is shifted steadily to the right side, with Peter kneeling and with his bent leg holding Malchus immobile on the ground.

Last, depicted on the right, behind the rock, are the disciples, who move away in fear as they watch the Lord's arrest, an element introduced in the Palaiologan period, as evident in the Peribleptos at Ochrid, the Protaton and the Vatopedi monastery. In the background of the scene, the last stragglers in the mob of the Jews hold spears and axes.

⁵⁷ MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture*, pl. 23.3.

⁵⁸ MILLET, Athos, pls. 21.2, 22.2. TSIGARIDAS, *Μανουήλ Πανσέληνος*, figs. 74–76.

⁵⁹ For example in the monasteries of Vatopedi-exonarthex and Chilandar (MILLET, Athos, pls. 70.1, 91.2. TSIGARIDAS, *Οι τοιχογραφίες του καθολικού* *op. cit.* [note 18], fig. 190), the church of Christ at Veroia (S. PELEKANIDES, *Καλλιέργης. Όλης Θεσσαλίας άριστος ζωγράφος*. Athens 1973, 43–46, pl. 24), Čučer (MILLET – FROLOW, *op. cit.* pl. 43.3), St Nikolaos Orphanos (TSITOURIDOU, *Άγιος Νικόλαος*, pl. 35) and Treska (PROLOVIĆ, *Treska* 154–156, fig. 30).

⁶⁰ D. VOJVODIĆ, *The Wall-Paintings of the Church of Saint Achilleos in Arilje*. Belgrade 2005, pl. 15, sch. IV17.

⁶¹ In Middle Byzantine manuscripts the man usually holds a club or an axe, as in Par. gr. 74 (See note 62) and in the *Lectio-nary 587* of Dionysiou monastery (PELEKANIDES, *Εικονογραφήμενα χειρόγραφα*, fig. 233).

⁶² OMONT, *Évangiles I*, pl. 46.

⁶³ VELMANS, *Le Tétraévangile*, pl. 27, fig. 112.

⁶⁴ O. DEMUS, *The Mosaics of Norman Sicily*. London 1949, 286, pl. 70.

⁶⁵ H. OMONT, *Miniatures des plus anciens manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris du VI^e siècle au XI^e siècle*. Paris 1929, pl. XCIII.8. V. LAZAREV, *Storia della pittura bizantina*. Torino 1967, fig. 391.

Christ Tried Before Caiaphas (sch.1.7). Inscription: *Η ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΑΪΑΦΑ ΚΑΤΑ Χ(ΠΙCΤ)ΟΥ ΕΞΕΤΑCΙC*. Christ's interrogation by the high priests Caiaphas and Annas is described in the Gospels of Matthew (26:57–75) and John (18:13–14 and 24): the first mentions only Caiaphas, while the second both chief priests. On the contrary, Mark (14:53–65) and Luke (22:54 and 66–71) do not name them. In Staro Nagoričino, the examination of Christ by Caiaphas⁶⁶ is not represented together with that by Annas, as is the case in certain fourteenth-century monuments.⁶⁷

It was argued in the past⁶⁸ that the painter in Staro Nagoričino erroneously annotated the two scenes of the trial of the Lord by the chief priests Annas and Caiaphas. More specifically, according to the scholar, the painter annotated Annas in the scene with the chief priest tearing his clothes, whereas typically the person identified is Caiaphas. In my opinion, we cannot argue for sure that the inscriptions are erroneous, for three main reasons: first, there is no such consensus among the Evangelists⁶⁹ arguing that Caiaphas rends his robes; quite the opposite, several questions are raised about this issue. Second, in a later source, the 'Painter's Manual (*Hermeneia*) by Dionysios of Fourni, which surely preserves earlier tradition, it is noted that Annas, and not Caiaphas, tears his clothes.⁷⁰ Third, there are several monuments with common, but also different, artistic roots in relation to Staro Nagoričino, which concur with the tradition of the *Hermeneia* and for which it cannot be argued that all the painters made the same mistake. For example, in the Holy Apostles at Peć (ca 1300),⁷¹ the Protaton⁷² and Matejić (1346–1355),⁷³ as well as in Staro Nagoričino, Caiaphas does not tear his clothes, whereas in Gračanica⁷⁴ and in the monasteries of Chilandar⁷⁵ and Markov⁷⁶ Annas rends his robes.

In the scene at Staro Nagoričino, where the annotation is possibly not erroneous but is due to the influence of a tradition different from that of Matthew, Christ is depicted on the left, tied with rope, as reported in the gospel narrative. He is led by a soldier before Caiaphas, who, seated on a quadriga,⁷⁷ rests his feet on a semicircular footstool and raises his right hand in a gesture of speech. Christ with bound hands before Caiaphas is represented frequently, as in Par. gr. 74, f. 97v⁷⁸ and in the Lectionary cod. 587, f. 95v⁷⁹ of the Dionysiou monastery, as well as in virtually all the monuments of the Palaiologan period.

Depicted between the soldier and Caiaphas is a Jew, who simultaneously faces the high priest and points to Christ, and could be identified as one of the false-witnesses to which the gospel pericope refers. The same figure is encountered in Chilandar and Gračanica. Last, crowded behind the high priest are the Jews, gesturing in a more restraint manner.

⁶⁶ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, *Recherches* 635–636, 640–641, 654.

⁶⁷ For example the Protaton (see note 72) the church of Christ in Veroia (PELEKANIDES, *Καλλιέργης*, pl. 25) and St Athanasios *tu Mouzaki* at Kastoria (see note 82).

⁶⁸ SOTIRIOU, *Ἡ Μακεδονική σχολή* 14. She also argued that the model for the painter in Staro Nagoričino is the Chilandar monastery. However, this is not possible because it is certain that Chilandar was decorated after Staro Nagoričino.

⁶⁹ M. ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *Ἡ μονή των Φιλανθρωπινών και η πρώτη φάση της μεταβυζαντινής ζωγραφικής*. Athens 21995, 77. TSITOURIDOU, *op. cit.* 116.

⁷⁰ See ACHEIMASTOU-POTAMIANOU, *μονή των Φιλανθρωπινών* 77, note 498.

⁷¹ PETKOVIĆ, *La peinture serbe II*, pls. LXXXIII–LXXXIV.

⁷² MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 21.1.

⁷³ MILLET – VELMANS, *La peinture*, pl. 49, fig. 99.

⁷⁴ HAMANN-MAC LEAN – HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, pl. 341. B. ŽIVKOVIĆ, *Gračanica. Les dessins des fresques (Les monuments de la peinture serbe médiévale 7)*. Belgrade 1989, sch. V1 (côte occidentale).

⁷⁵ MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 71.1.

⁷⁶ MILLET – VELMANS, *La peinture*, pl. 85, fig. 159, pls. 92–93, figs. 169–170.

⁷⁷ Herod and Pilate sit on a quadriga in the codex Par. gr. 74, f. 159v and 160v (OMONT, *Évangiles II*, figs. 138–139).

⁷⁸ OMONT, *Évangiles I*, pl. 85.

⁷⁹ PELEKANIDES, *Εικονογραφημένα χειρόγραφα*, fig. 228.

Christ Tried Before Annas (sch.1.8). Inscription: *Η ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΑΝΝΑ ΚΑΤΑ Χ(ΠΙ)ΤΟΥ ΚΡΙΣΙΣ*. According to the Gospel of John, after his trial by Caiaphas, Christ was led before Annas. In the left part of the scene the Lord, with hands bound, turns to the right, where the high priest Annas stands in front of his throne, tearing his clothes (fig. 6). Annas is represented in the same manner in Gračanica and in the monasteries of Chilandar and Markov.⁸⁰ Behind and to the left of the high priest is the group of Jews, the leader of which simultaneously looks at Annas and points at Christ. Between the chief priest and the Lord is one Jew – a servant according to John (18:22) – who raises his hand to strike Christ. This detail occurs already in the Middle Byzantine period⁸¹ and is reproduced in several monuments of the Palaiologan period.⁸² Other Evangelists (Matthew 26:67 and Mark 14:65) also refer to the incident of the servant striking Christ, which is why this figure is encountered also in scenes of the trials, by Caiaphas, as in the Holy Apostles at Peć,⁸³ and in the representation of the Judgement by the chief priests and by Pilate in Soterias Christos at Potamies Padiados near Herakleion in Crete (ca 1360).⁸⁴

Christ Judged by Pilate (sch.1.9).⁸⁵ Inscription: *Η ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΠΙΛΑΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ ΑΠΟΦΑΣΙΣ*. The Judgement of Christ by Pontius Pilate is described by all four Evangelists (Matthew 27:1–2 and 11–26. Mark 15:1–15. Luke 23:1–6 and 12–25. John 18:28–40). Left, Christ with hands bound,⁸⁶ is led by a soldier before Pilate, right, who sits on a rectangular bench with semi-circular back. The Roman procurator, imposing and majestic in his luxurious raiment, does not face Christ but turns his torso and gazes at the viewer, while at the same time washing his hands with the water poured from a pitcher into a basin by a slave-boy (fig. 7).

In rendering Pilate with turned head, the painter was most probably influenced by scenes in which the Roman procurator turns towards the maidservant or the slave-boy bringing to him a missive from his wife, asking him to declare the Lord innocent, as mentioned in the Gospel of Matthew and in the apocryphal gospel of Nikodemus, respectively. Under the influence of the apocryphal tradition, at Kokar Kilisse (Ihlara) and Pürenli Seki Kilisse⁸⁷ in Cappadocia, depicted beside Pilate is his wife, who begs for the Nazarene's acquittal, while the detail of the slave-boy is encountered in

⁸⁰ See above, notes 75–76.

⁸¹ In the late eleventh-century icon with iconographic types of the Virgin and scenes of the Miracles and the Passion of Christ, in the Sinai monastery, the high priest Annas is depicted, and not Pilate, as referred to by G. and M. SOTIRIOU, *Eikónes A'*, fig. 146, B', 127. See, also, K. WEITZMANN, *Byzantine Miniature and Icon Painting in the Eleventh Century*, in: H.L. KESSLER (ed.), *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*. Chicago – London 1971, fig. 302.

⁸² Peribleptos at Ochrid (MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture*, pl. 8.1), Bogorodica Ljeviška (PANIĆ – BABIĆ, *Bogorodica Ljeviška*, pl. XX), Chilandar (MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 71.1. SOTIRIOU, *Ἡ Μακεδονικὴ σχολή*, pl. 7b), Dečani (PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, *Dečani* pl. CCH), and the church of St Athanasios *του Μουζακί* at Kastoria (1384/85) (S. PELEKANIDES, *Καστορία I. Βυζαντινὰ τοιχογραφία*. Thessaloniki 1953, pl. 148a).

⁸³ See note 71.

⁸⁴ Ch. RANOUTSAKI, *Die Fresken des Soterias Christos-Kirche bei Potamies. Studie zur byzantinischen Wandmalerei auf Kreta im 14. Jahrhundert*. Munich 1992, 84–85, pl. II, fig. 21, 23.

⁸⁵ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, *Recherches* 41–49. M. TATIĆ-DJURIĆ, *Dve ikone Hrstovih stradanja. Zbornik Matice srpske za Likovne Umetnosti* 34–35 (2003) 185–190. S. RADOJČIĆ, *Pilatov sud u vizantijskom slikarstvu ranog XIV veka. ZRVI* 13 (1971) 293–311 (reprint in IDEM, *Uzori i dela starih srpskih umetnika*. Belgrade 1975, 211–236).

⁸⁶ In addition to the bound hands, Christ is depicted also with a rope round his neck, by which a soldier drags him before Pilate, in the Tetraevangelion cod. 93, in the National Library, Athens, which is dated to the late twelfth century. See A. MARAVA-CHATZINIKOLAOU – Ch. TOUFEXI-PASCHOU, *Κατάλογος μικρογραφιών βυζαντινών χειρογράφων τῆς Ἐθνικῆς Βιβλιοθήκης τῆς Ἑλλάδος, A'*. Athens 1978, 235, fig. 636. In the scene in the Athens codex, we should see the influence of the iconography of the Way to Calvary (Helkomenos).

⁸⁷ N. and M. THIERRY, *Églises rupestres de Cappadoce. Région du Hasan Dağı*. Paris 1963, 124–125, 148, fig. 28, pl. 68. N. THIERRY, *Le provincialisme Cappadocien*, in: S. LAMPAKIS (ed.), *Ἡ βυζαντινὴ Μικρὰ Ἀσία*. Athens 1998, 404, with older bibliography. C. JOLIVET-LEVY, *La Cappadoce médiévale: images et spiritualité*. Paris 2001, 222.

Monreale⁸⁸ and more frequently in the Palaiologan period.⁸⁹ On the contrary, the maidservant is depicted in the Holy Apostles at Peć (ca 1300).⁹⁰

Between Pilate and Christ, the Pharisee accuser, accompanied by Jews, points towards the suffering Lord and looks at the procurator. Pilate's bodyguards are depicted exactly behind him, holding large round shields, spear and sword⁹¹ respectively, adding formality to the praetorium.

The representation in Staro Nagoričino follows the basic iconographic scheme created in Early Christian times and elaborated fully in the Middle Byzantine period, with the two basic groups: Pilate – slave-boy and Christ and Jews – soldiers, as seen in the Pigeon House church (963–969)⁹² at Çavuşin in Cappadocia, and in the two well-known four Gospels, Par. gr. 74, f. 57v⁹³ and Laur. VI 23, f. 57v.⁹⁴ By contrast, in Palaiologan times the emphasis is placed primarily on enhancing certain details, such as the role of specific persons in the scene (Jew accuser, slave-boy/maidservant, Pilate's wife), through the characteristic gestures.

The Washing of the Hands by Pilate in Staro Nagoričino is distinguished by a general austerity in the choice of iconographic elements in relation to other contemporary representations, such as in the Peribleptos at Ochrid⁹⁵ and the Protaton,⁹⁶ which include more persons and the table with the writing implements in front of Pilate.

In particular, the presence of the last iconographic element in the Peribleptos, the Protaton, Pološko and Mali Grad was for research⁹⁷ a basic criterion for assigning these scenes to a different iconographic type from those in St Nikolaos Orphanos, Staro Nagoričino, Gračanica and Dečani,⁹⁸ which do not feature the table. In my view, the depiction or not of the table is not a structural element of the iconography of the subject, which of itself can create a different iconographic type. In reality, in the monuments of both the first group and the second there is one basic iconographic type, which can be distinguished as composite and simple, respectively.

The Three Denials of Peter (sch.1.10). Inscriptions: *Η ΑΡΗΘΙΟΝ ΤΟΥ ΠΕΤΡΟΥ, ΛΕΓΗ Ι ΘΗΡΟΠΟΡΟΝ ΤΟ ΠΕΤΡΟ ΑΙΘΙΟΝ Κ(ΑΙ) ΧΗ/ΕΚ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΘΗΤ(ΩΝ) Η/ Ο ΔΕ ΠΕΤΡΟΣ ΙΠΕΑΤΟ ΟΜΝΗ(ΕΙΝ) Κ(ΑΙ) ΚΑΤΑΘΕΜΑ/ΤΙΖΗΝ ΟΤΙ ΟΥΚ ΗΛΕΝ/ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΟΝ*. In this second lengthy inscription, the influence of the Biblical text is evident. However, the painter does not copy the original but, as I will argue, he composes the inscription by memory. In the opposite case, namely that of copying the Gospel, it should be denoted that the text was referenced word for word bearing no change whatsoever. The latter is the case for the inscriptions which accompany most of the passion cycles of St Nikolaos Orphanos in Thessaloniki.⁹⁹ An additional argument to back up my viewpoint about the annotation of this scene by memory, is the existence of many severe spelling

⁸⁸ DEMUS, *op. cit.* (note 64) 287, pl. 68.

⁸⁹ As in Gračanica (ŽIVKOVIĆ, Gračanica sch. V2 (côte occidentale), the Chilandar monastery (MILLET, Athos, pl. 72.2), St Nikolaos Orphanos (TSITOURIDOU, Άγιος Νικόλαος 118, pl. 37), Pološko (RADOJČIĆ, Pilatov sud fig. 5. DJORDJEVIĆ, Zidno slikarstvo, fig. 36. ČORNAKOV, Pološki Manastir, fig. on p. 87) and Mali Grad at Prespa (V.J. DJURIĆ, Mali Grad – Sv. Atanasije u Kosturu – Borije. *Zograf* 6 [1975] 37, fig. 18).

⁹⁰ V.J. DJURIĆ, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien*. Belgrade 1966, pl. XXX.

⁹¹ The sword is identical to that in the same scene in the Peribleptos at Ochrid. See note 96.

⁹² M. RESTLE, *Die byzantinischen Wandmalereien in Kleinasien*. Recklinghausen 1967, I 134–137, III fig. 310. The scene is rendered in the same manner also in Kiliçlar Kilisse (RESTLE, *op. cit.* I 130–133, II, fig. 273). See, also, THIERRY, *Le provincialisme* 412, with further bibliography.

⁹³ OMONT, *Évangiles* I, pl. 49.

⁹⁴ VELMANS, *Le tétraévangile* 33, pl. 28, fig. 117.

⁹⁵ MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture* pl. 8.3. RADOJČIĆ, *Pilatov sud* fig. 6.

⁹⁶ MILLET, *Athos* pl. 21.1.

⁹⁷ RADOJČIĆ, *Pilatov sud* 293–294. The same view is adopted by TSITOURIDOU, Άγιος Νικόλαος 119–120.

⁹⁸ PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, *Dečani*, pl. CCVIII.

⁹⁹ TSITOURIDOU, Άγιος Νικόλαος 110–123.

mistakes, which cannot be justified if we argue that the inscription was copied from the original.¹⁰⁰

The composition of the Denials of Peter¹⁰¹ is divided into three episodes, which cover the east front of the southwest pier. In rendering the events the painter follows the prolix narratives of Matthew (26:69–75), Luke (22:54–62) and John (18:15–18 and 25–27). From the aforementioned narrations one can conclude that Peter denied thrice that he was a disciple of Christ, twice to male servants and once to a maidservant.

In the first denial, Peter replies to a male servant. He raises his hands with the palms outwards, in a vivid gesture refuting any acquaintance or relation with the Nazarene. In the second denial, which is exactly below the first and separated from it by the intervening wall, the standing disciple warms his hands in a fire, around which sit three servants, who too stretch out their hands to warm them and to whom he has likewise denied all knowledge of the Lord. Peter's third denial (fig. 8), which is commented upon in the many-lined inscription, takes place outside the high priest's house. The maidservant peeps out from behind the red curtain of the rectangular entrance to the house and recognizes in Peter the Nazarene's disciple. According to the inscription, Peter swears that he knows not this man, in the familiar manner.

This particular episode is depicted from Early Christian times, as in San Apollinare Nuovo¹⁰² in Ravenna. The iconographic development of the subject during the Palaiologan period kept the Early Christian element of the curtain in the rectangular entrance, from which the maidservant peeps out. Individual episodes are depicted also in the Patmos Gospel cod. 70, f. 176v (10th century)¹⁰³ and in monuments in Cappadocia, such as Kiliçlar Kilisse (early 10th century),¹⁰⁴ while in other cases, such as in cod. 5 of the Biblioteca Palatina in Parma (second half of the 11th century)¹⁰⁵ and in cod. Quarto 66 in Berlin (*ca* 1200),¹⁰⁶ the third Denial is depicted together with the Remorse. All three Denials of Peter are represented aligned one after the other in Gospels books of the eleventh century, typical examples being Par. gr. 74, f. 97v, 158v, 204¹⁰⁷ and Laur. VI 23, f. 94, 205v.¹⁰⁸

The type of the triple denial in monumental painting was established in the early Palaiologan period and was used in many monuments,¹⁰⁹ in which, depending on the space available, painters created either large compositions or small scenes. In other cases the painters depict the two denials, as in the Peribleptos at Ochrid,¹¹⁰ or unite the three denials into one, the last, as at Deçani.¹¹¹

The Remorse of Peter (sch.2.11). Inscription: *K(AI) EYΘEOC AΛEKTΩP/ EΦONICEN K(AI) EMNHCOH/ O ΠETPO(C) TOY PHMATOC TOY IYC(OY)/ K(AI) EΞEΛΘΩN EΞO/ EKAAIYCEN ΠIKPOC*. The Remorse of Peter is referred to only in the synoptic gospels (Matthew 26:75. Mark

¹⁰⁰ With reference to spelling mistakes and other issues relevant to inscriptions in Staro Nagoričino, see N. ZARRAS, *Επιγραφές από το ναό του Αγίου Γεωργίου στο Staro Nagoričino*. *DChAE* 4/31 (2010) 115–124.

¹⁰¹ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, *Recherches* 345–361.

¹⁰² F.W. DEICHMANN, *Frühchristliche Bauten und Mosaiken von Ravenna*. Baden–Baden 1958, pls. 196–197.

¹⁰³ WEITZMANN, *Byzantinische Buchmalerei*, pl. LXXIII, fig. 445.

¹⁰⁴ RESTLE, *op. cit.* II, fig. 273.

¹⁰⁵ LAZAREV, *op. cit.* (note 65), fig. 242. SCHILLER, *Ikonographie* fig. 148.

¹⁰⁶ R. HAMANN-MAC LEAN, *Der Berliner Codex graecus Quarto 66 und seine nächsten Verwandten als Stilwandel im frühen 13. Jahrhundert*, in: *Studien zur Buchmalerei und Goldschmiedekunst des Mittelalters*. Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener zum 60. Geburtstag, 19. August 1965. Marburg 1967, 226–227, fig. 2.

¹⁰⁷ OMONT, *Évangiles* I, fig. 47, II, figs. 136, 174.

¹⁰⁸ VELMANS, *Le tétraévangile*, pl. 40, 63, fig. 177, 295.

¹⁰⁹ I cite indicatively the Holy Apostles at Peć (PETKOVIĆ, *La peinture*, pl. LXXXIV. DJURIĆ, *Byzantinische Fresken*, pl. XXX), Chilandar monastery (MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 71.2), the monastery of Markov (MILLET – VELMANS, *La peinture*, pls. 85, 92, figs. 92, 169) and the church of Sts Constantine and Helen at Ochrid (G. SUBOTIĆ, *L' église des Saints Constantin et Hélène à Ochrid*. Belgrade 1971, sch. A2).

¹¹⁰ MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture*, pl. 7. 3–4.

¹¹¹ PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, *Deçani*, pl. CCV.

14:72. Luke 22:61–62.), whereas John places particular emphasis on Peter's denials. The painter possibly followed the text of Matthew, with which the inscription of the scene has similarities. Peter is depicted weeping, leaning upon a column dossier, as is customary in the Palaiologan period. The crowing cockerel, to the disciple's right, is perched upon a battlement of the fortification wall that fills the background of the scene (fig. 9).

In the Middle Byzantine period the Remorse of Peter appears frequently in Psalters as an individual episode illustrating verse 13 of the 38th Psalm, as in the Chludov (second half of the 10th century),¹¹² Pantokrator 61 (second half of the 10th century), f. 48r,¹¹³ and in Psalter cod. Add. 40 731 (11th century), f. 65v.¹¹⁴ On the contrary, in gospel books of this period the episode of the Remorse is an integral part of the Denial of Peter.¹¹⁵ In the Palaiologan period¹¹⁶ too, the Remorse is depicted together with the Denials.

Christ Judged by Herod (sch.2.12). Inscription: *Η ΠΑΡΑ ΤΟΥ ΗΡΩΔΟΥ/ ΚΑΤΑ Χ(ΠΙ)ΤΟΥ ΕΞΕΤΑΚΙΣ*. The Judgement of Christ by Herod Agrippas is referred to only by the Gospel of Luke (23:7–11). Christ, on the left, with his hands bound crosswise, is led by a soldier before Herod. The procurator with imperial crown-*kamelaukion*, sits on a wooden bench without back and rests his feet on a cushion placed upon a footstool. He raises his right hand in a gesture of speech, as he addresses Christ. The group of accusing Jews is ranged behind the soldier (fig. 10).

The scene of Christ Judged by Herod is rather uncommon and in the Middle Byzantine period is encountered primarily in gospel books, such as in Par. gr 74, f. 159v¹¹⁷ and Laur. VI 23, f. 161r.¹¹⁸

In the Palaiologan period the Judgement of Herod is represented very rarely. Apart from Staro Nagoričino, the scene in Gračanica¹¹⁹ is the only example known to me in Palaiologan monumental painting.

Pilate turns Christ over to the Jews (sch.2.13) (fig. 11). Inscription: *ΑΕΓΗ Ο ΠΙΛΑΤΟΣ Τ(ΟΙ)Σ ΗΟΥΑΙΕΧΣ ΑΑΒΕΤΕ ΑΥΤΟ[Ν]/ Κ(ΑΙ) ΤΑΥΡΩΚΑΤΕ*. The episode is described by all four Evangelists. On the left, in front of an arched colonnaded porch, Pilate sits enthroned and raises his right hand to point out Christ, who stands on the right with hands bound, to the representatives of the priesthood, ranged in front of him. The head of the Jews raises his right hand, insistently demanding that the Roman procurator pronounce Christ's condemnation, in accordance with the gospel pericopes.

In the Middle Byzantine period, the scene of Pilate turning Christ over to the Jews is represented in Par. gr. 74, f. 59v, 160v¹²⁰ and in Laur. VI 23, f. 57v–58r.a, 208r.¹²¹

In the Palaiologan period, the depiction also of a second scene with Pilate turning Christ over to the Jews is rare and is usually encountered in extensive Passion cycles in which the gospel text is

¹¹² ŠČEPKINA, *Miniatury hludovskoi*, f. 38v.

¹¹³ DUFRENNE, *L'illustration* 25, pl. 7.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem* 57, pl. 51.

¹¹⁵ See notes 107–108.

¹¹⁶ In St Nikolaos Orphanos (TSITOURIDOU, *op. cit.* pl. 38.), in Chilandar (MILLET, Athos, pl. 71.2), Gračanica (HAMMAN-MAC LEAN – HALLENSLEBEN, *Die Monumentalmalerei*, pl. 344), in Dečani (see Mural Painting of Monastery of Dečani, *op. cit.* [note 1] 48), in Markov (MILLET – VELMANS, *op. cit.* pl. 94, fig. 171) and in Mali Grad (DJURIĆ, Mali Grad 40, fig. 25).

¹¹⁷ OMONT, *Évangiles* II, fig. 138.

¹¹⁸ VELMANS, *Le Tétraévangile* 47, pl. 57, fig. 263.

¹¹⁹ ŽIVKOVIĆ, Gračanica, sch. V 3.

¹²⁰ OMONT, *op. cit.* I, fig. 49, II, fig. 139.

¹²¹ VELMANS, *op. cit.* 33, 50, pl. 28, 64, fig. 117, 297.

illustrated in all its details, as for example in Dečani (1345–1348),¹²² Matejić (1346–1355)¹²³ and Koporin (1407–1413).¹²⁴ As a rule, the Judgement of Pilate and Pilate Turning Christ Over to the Jews to be crucified are conflated in the scene of Pilate Washing his Hands. In the Peribleptos at Ochrid the content of the inscription in the scene of Pilate Washing His Hands:¹²⁵ «*ΤΟ ΑΙΜΑ ΑΥΤ(ΟΥ) ΕΦ ΥΜ(Α)C Κ(Α)Ι ΕΠΙ ΤΑ ΤΕΚΝΑ ΗΜΩΝ*» declares clearly that the moment of the turning over of Christ to the Jews is depicted.

The Mocking of Christ (sch.2.14)¹²⁶. Inscription: *Ο ΕΜΠΙΕΓΜΟC*. The episode is narrated in detail only by Matthew, the text of whose gospel (27:27–30) was the source used by the painter in Staro Nagoričino. Christ is depicted in front of the midpoint of a continuous wall, which forms the spare architectural backdrop. Calm and in frontal pose, he wears a purple sleeveless chiton and the crown of thorns on his head. He holds the reed for a sceptre in his right hand, while he brings the left up to the height of his chest. Arranged symmetrically to right and left of the Lord are the groups of Jews who mock and taunt him. They hold musical instruments. Some are having fun and gesture with feigned respect, and others gaze with either curiosity or envy at Christ (fig. 12).

Specifically, on either side of Christ are two Jews who spit upon him, as is noted in the gospel passage, on the left one youth plays a pipe and one other a long drum hanging from his waist. Depicted in front of Christ are four young persons, two of whom, with flapping long sleeves, execute dance figures,¹²⁷ the third plays cymbals, while the fourth claps hands. Behind the groups of Jews are two youths, depicted opposite one another and higher up, playing trumpets, thus emphasizing the symmetry of the scene and encouraging the mob to take part in the derision, intensifying the tone of the Mocking.¹²⁸

Musicians and dancers are depicted in the Mocking of Christ already in the Middle Byzantine period. I cite indicatively Laur. VI 23, fols. 58r.a¹²⁹ and two Sinai icons, dated to the end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century, in which there are dancers with flapping long sleeves and others who kneel and clap hands.¹³⁰ In the Palaiologan period, both the dancers and the musicians were crystallized as standard elements in the iconography of the subject. The latter hold various instruments, the commonest among which are horns, pipes, drums and cymbals.

It should be noted that in the gospel text it is stated explicitly that Christ was publicly ridiculed only by the soldiers of the praetorium guard. By contrast, in Staro Nagoričino, as also in the Chilandar monastery,¹³¹ no soldiers are depicted, which is not the case for example in the Peribleptos at Ochrid,¹³² St Nikolaos at Prilep,¹³³ Dečani,¹³⁴ and Matejić,¹³⁵ although in these the civilian character is pronounced. Scholars have proved that the iconography of the scene of the Mocking of

¹²² PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, Dečani, pl. CCX.

¹²³ DIMITROVA, Matejče 145, sch. V94.

¹²⁴ M. RADUJKO, Koporin. Belgrade 2006, fig. 10, sch. XVI.

¹²⁵ See note 95.

¹²⁶ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, Recherches 635–641. S. RADOJČIĆ, Rujanje Hristu na fresci u Starom Nagoričinu. *Narodna Starina* 35 (1939) 15–32 (reprint in IDEM, Uzori i dela *op. cit.* [note 85] 155–179).

¹²⁷ On the motif of the dancers in the scene of the Mocking and its provenance see K. KEIKO, Notes on the Dancers in the Mocking of Christ at Staro Nagoričino. *DChAE* 4/27 (2006) 159–167.

¹²⁸ On the role of trumpeters in the Old Testament and their relation with the sacrifice of the Lord see P. L. VOKOTOPOULOS, *To θείον Πάθος σε πίνακα του Γεωργίου Κλόντζα*. Athens 2005, 30.

¹²⁹ VELMANS, *Le tétraévangile*, pl. 29, fig. 118.

¹³⁰ SOTIRIOU, *Εικόνα* A', pls. 145–146, B', 123–125. WEITZMANN, *Byzantine Miniature op. cit.* (note 82), fig. 300, 302. KEIKO, *op. cit.* 159, with further bibliography.

¹³¹ MILLET, Athos, pl. 73.2.

¹³² MILJKOVIĆ-PEPEK, Deloto 48, sch.II.

¹³³ MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture*, pl. 24.2.

¹³⁴ PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, Dečani, pl. CCXI.

¹³⁵ MILLET – VELMANS, *op. cit.* pl. 39, fig. 79.

Christ has been influenced by the ceremonial of some social events in Byzantium, such as the punishment of public ridicule and other ritual performances.¹³⁶ In most of the examples¹³⁷ from the Palaiologan period the civilian element, with the presence of the mob, the musicians and the dancers, is much stronger than the military.¹³⁸

The Way to Calvary (sch.2.15). Inscription: Destroyed. The scene of the Way to Calvary¹³⁹ in Staro Nagoričino is based on the text of the Synoptics (Matthew 27:31–32. Mark 15:20–21. Luke 23:26–32), according to which the Cross was carried by Simon of Cyrene, whereas according to the Gospel of John (23:26–33) it was carried by Christ himself. Certain iconographic details derive from the apocryphal texts, as will be seen at another point. The scene (fig. 13) unfolds in a rocky landscape. Simon, with youthful features and wearing a short tunic, is in the vanguard holding the Cross. He is followed by a soldier dragging Christ by his hands, which are bound to a rope¹⁴⁰ that ends at his neck. In the rear of the procession are soldiers and a multitude of Jews. According to this arrangement of the persons, the scene is assigned to the first iconographic type (1a),¹⁴¹ which is typical from the Early Christian times and came to dominate in the Palaiologan period.

The figure of Simon carrying the Cross is represented in the lead¹⁴² in the *Peribleptos* at Ochrid,¹⁴³ the *Protaton*,¹⁴⁴ and in several monuments.¹⁴⁵ The scene in Staro Nagoričino differs in relation to the above monuments in that, although Christ is depicted with a rope around his neck, he is not dragged by this, as is the case in several examples. In our case, the soldier holding Christ's tied hands pulls him. This detail is found a little later at Lesnovo, where Christ is led to the Cross by a soldier and to the accompaniment of musicians.¹⁴⁶

In the upper left part of the scene, John and the Virgin watch the Road to Calvary from behind a rock. The Virgin tears her hair as a sign of suffering, while Christ's disciple turns towards her and brings his right hand to his cheek, as is usually depicted in the Crucifixion. The unusual depiction of the Virgin in this scene is influenced by the apocryphal tradition,¹⁴⁷ according to which Christ

¹³⁶ RADOJČIĆ, Rujanje 15–18. I. KOLLIAS, Η διαπόμπευση του Χριστού στο ζωγραφικό διάκοσμο του Αγίου Νικολάου στα Τριάνα. in: Ευφρόσυνον. Αφιέρωμα στον Μανόλη Χατζηδάκη, I. Athens 1992, 243–261, esp. 249–250. PROLOVIĆ, Treska 156–157.

¹³⁷ In St Nikolaos Orphanos (TSITOURIDOU, Ἅγιος Νικόλαος, pls. 39–40), in Lesnovo (MILLET – VELMANS, La peinture, pl. 15. fig. 32), in Pološko (ČORNAKOV, Pološki Manastir, fig. on p. 85. DJORDJEVIĆ, Zidno slikarstvo, fig. 39), in Zrze (DJORDJEVIĆ *op.cit.* fig. 87) and in Treska (PROLOVIĆ, Treska fig. 31).

¹³⁸ On the presence of soldiers in the scene of the Mocking see A. and J. STYLIANOU, The militarization of the Betrayal and its Examples in the Painted Churches of Cyprus, in: Ευφρόσυνον *op. cit.* II 570–581.

¹³⁹ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, Recherches 362–379. SCHILLER, Ikonographie 88–90. A. KATSELAKI, Ο Χριστός Ελκόμενος επί Σταυρού. Εικονογραφία και τυπολογία της παράστασης στη βυζαντινή τέχνη (4ος αι. – 15ος αι.). *DChAE* 4/19 (1996–1997) 167–200, with earlier bibliography. A. WEYL-CARR, Thoughts on Seeing Christ Helkomenos. An Icon from Pelendri, in: Byzantinische Malerei. Bildprogramme – Ikonographie – Stil, hrsg. von Guntram Koch. Wiesbaden 2000, 405–420. V. FOSKOLOU, Αναζητώντας την εικόνα του Ελκόμενου της Μονεμβασίας. Το χαμένο παλλάδιο της πόλης και η επίδρασή του στα υστεροβυζαντινά μνημεία του νότιου ελλαδικού χώρου. *Symmeikta* 14 (2001) 229–256.

¹⁴⁰ The rope with which Christ's hands were tied is referred to in the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus, whereas there is no mention of it in the Gospels.

¹⁴¹ KATSELAKI, *op. cit.* 169–170, with further examples.

¹⁴² On the contrary, in the icon with scenes of the Passion, in the Blatadon monastery, Christ is to the fore and Simon follows with the Cross. See TOURTA, Εικόνα με σκηνές παθῶν, pl. 4b. At Treska too, the painter synopsis the Road to Calvary (Christ *Helkomenos*) with the episode of imbibing the vinegar. See PROLOVIĆ, Treska 158, fig. 32.

¹⁴³ MILLET – FROLOW, *op. cit.* pl. 8.2.

¹⁴⁴ Simon with the Cross would have been depicted at the point that is today destroyed. See MILLET, Athos, pl. 25.2.

¹⁴⁵ I cite as examples St Nikolaos at Prilep (MILLET – FROLOW, *op. cit.* pl. 24.3), the church of Christ at Beroia (PELEKANIDES, Καλλιέργης, pl. 26). Gračanica (ŽIVKOVIĆ, Gračanica IV.3), Chilandar (MILLET, Athos, pl. 72.3), Kučevište (DJORDEVIĆ, Kučevište, fig. 17. IDEM, Zidno slikarstvo, fig. 2), Lesnovo (MILLET – VELMANS, La peinture, pl.10, fig. 22. GABELIĆ, Lesnovo, pl. XIII, fig. 28) and the *Taxiarchis tis Metropoleos* in Kastoria (1360) (PELEKANIDES, Καστορία, pl. 123b).

¹⁴⁶ MILLET – VELMANS, *op. cit.* pl. 15, fig. 33.

¹⁴⁷ KATSELAKI, *op. cit.* 170, note 21.

and the Myrrh-bearing Women were followed by the Virgin and John. Luke too refers to the women who accompanied Christ lamenting on the way to Calvary. The depiction of the Virgin in the procession was particularly common in the Palaiologan period. She appears together with John in the *Peribleptos* at Ochrid, the Holy Apostles at Peć,¹⁴⁸ Gračanica and St George *tou archonta Grammatikou* in Beroia (second half of the 14th century),¹⁴⁹ and without John but with the Myrrh-bearing Women in the Sinai icon of the Crucifixion and Dodecaorton scenes (second half of the 14th century).¹⁵⁰

The Ascent of the Cross (2.16) Inscription: *H EIII TON CTAYPON ANOΔIOC*. The Ascent of Christ to the Cross, along with the three other episodes that preceded the Crucifixion (Christ's refusal to drink the vinegar, the nailing to the Cross and the placement of Christ on the Cross), are not referred to by the Evangelists, whereas most of them are discussed in the apocryphal gospel of Nicodemus.

The Ascent of the Cross¹⁵¹ in Staro Nagoričino (fig. 14), which in terms of iconography is one of the most complete examples of the Palaiologan period, is combined with the episode of the Nailing to the Cross. On the left, Christ, wearing a loincloth, gazes at the top of the Cross and climbs up the wooden ladder alone. Behind Christ the soldier, leading the small military detachment helps him by slightly pushing his shoulder with the right hand, while holding a spear in the left. Two young slaves fix the Cross in position; one is in the upper part, stepping on the suppedaneum of the Cross, and holds it in place, while the other sits, putting the Cross between his legs, and impacts it in a small opening in the rock, striking with a hammer the wooden wedges at its base. A third older slave, bends down beside the young man who is nailing. He holds a basket of nails and puts forward his right hand to show the youth how to impact the Cross. On the right, behind the old slave, is a group of Jews, the head of which is identified as the chief priest, who points with his right hand to the Cross, thus indicating to Christ to ascend it. At the top left edge of the scene, from behind the rock, the Virgin and John watch the episode in grief.

In the Palaiologan period, the scene of the Ascent of the Cross is encountered usually in two types. In the first type, which occurs more frequently¹⁵², Christ hastens voluntarily to ascend the Cross. In the second type, Christ turns his body and ascends the Cross by stepping on a stool and the suppedaneum of the Cross, assisted by the two executors, who have climbed double ladders and pull him by his arms. This type, which was used *par excellence* in Western iconography of the subject from as early as the thirteenth century,¹⁵³ was most probably introduced into Palaiologan painting by the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios. Scenes of this type are depicted in St Nikolaos Orphanos,¹⁵⁴ the Chilandar monastery,¹⁵⁵ St Niketas at Čučer,¹⁵⁶ which are virtually identi-

¹⁴⁸ R. LJUBINKOVIĆ, *The Church of the Apostles in the Patriarchate of Peć*. Belgrade 1944, fig. 38.

¹⁴⁹ KATSELAKEI, *op. cit.* 177, note 64 with further bibliography.

¹⁵⁰ In the icon, the Virgin does not observe the procession alone, as is maintained by KATSELAKEI, *op. cit.* 176–177, fig. 4, with further examples and bibliography.

¹⁵¹ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, *Recherches* 380–395. A. DERBES, *Images East and West: The Ascent of the Cross*, in: R. OUSTERHOUT – L. BRUBAKER (eds.), *The Sacred Image East and West*. Urbana – Chicago 1995, 110–131, figs. 270–279, with further bibliography.

¹⁵² This type is encountered in the *Peribleptos* at Ochrid (MILLET – FROLOW, *La peinture*, pl. 9. 1–2), St Nikolaos at Prilep (MILLET – FROLOW, *op. cit.* 25.1. DERBES, *op. cit.* 112–114, fig. 59), the Protaton (MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 24.3), the church of Christ at Beroia (PELEKANIDES, *Καλλιέργης*, pl. 27), Dečani (PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, *Dečani*, pl. CCIX. B. TODIĆ, *Tradition et innovations dans le programme et l'iconographie de Dečani*, in: V.J. DJURIĆ [ed.], *Dečani et l'art byzantin au milieu du XI^e siècle*. Belgrade 1989, fig. 4), Pološko (ČORNAKOV, *Pološki Manastir*, fig. in p. 72), Matejić (DIMITROVA, *Matejče* 317), and the church of Sts Constantine and Helen at Ochrid (SUBOVIĆ, *L' église op.cit.* [note 109], sch. B4).

¹⁵³ DERBES, *op. cit.* 117–119. EADEM, *Picturing the Passion in Late Medieval Italy*. Cambridge University 1996, 145–149.

¹⁵⁴ TSITOURIDOU, *Ἅγιος Νικόλαος*, pl. 42.

¹⁵⁵ MILLET, *Athos*, pl. 72.1.

¹⁵⁶ DERBES, *op. cit.* 113, fig. 61–63.

cal, and later in St Nikolaos Dabarski at Banja (1327–1331),¹⁵⁷ Hagia Sophia (1348–1354) and the Peribleptos (1370–1380)¹⁵⁸ at Mystras, and in the *Taxiarchis tis Metropoleos* at Kastoria.¹⁵⁹ This second type, in which Christ hesitates to ascend the Cross, has been interpreted by research¹⁶⁰ as denoting his human nature.

As a rule, the Nailing to the Cross is not shown as a pictorially independent episode and it is depicted in most monuments together with the Ascent, either together with the Helkomenos (Vatopedi monastery-narthex) or with the Refusal of Christ to drink the vinegar mixed with bile (Peribleptos at Ochrid, Chilandar monastery, Lesnovo), while at Matejić (1346–1355)¹⁶¹ it is depicted separately, next to the scene of Christ Helkomenos.

The Crucifixion (2.17)¹⁶² Inscription: *H CTAYPΩCIC*. The scene is set in the rocky landscape of Calvary, with the walls of Jerusalem in the background. On the Cross is the lifeless figure of Christ, his body harmoniously curved and his head inclined on the right shoulder. At the ends of the horizontal arm of the Cross, lamenting angels bring their hands to the face. On the left of the Crucified Christ is the Virgin, upheld by Mary Magdalene and John, who gazes at Christ. The Virgin's head too inclines to the right shoulder, so that Mother and Son are linked iconographically and are distinguished amidst the crowd of people depicted. Behind the Virgin stand other Myrrh-bearing Women, while behind John is the haloed figure of the centurion Longinus, who, raising his right hand, confesses the divinity of the Lord. Numerous soldiers accompany the centurion. To the right of Christ one soldier in highly agitated pose is poised to thrust the lance into the Lord's side, while at the base of the Cross another soldier soaks the sponge in the sour wine, in order to affix it to the end of the reed that he holds. Behind him are Jews, the foremost of which raises his hand towards Christ mocking him, in accordance with the gospel tradition. On either side of Christ are the crucified laron, the righteous one, who is clearly distinguished by the halo, as well as by the refined countenance in comparison to the other.

Represented on the left of the composition, at the base of the cross of the righteous laron, is the episode of the Dividing of Christ's clothes (fig. 15). One of the two soldiers, who bears no armour or weapons except for a sword, sits cross-legged on the ground, having cast at his feet Christ's clothes, which he holds with his left hand, while raising the right and addressing the figure on his right, probably a servant.

The representation of the Crucifixion in Staro Nagoričino is of considerable importance surviving in very good condition and allowing us to examine the wealth of iconographic elements that make it one of the fullest compositions of the Palaiologan period. Nevertheless, the following general observation should be made. In the monuments assigned to the artistic output of the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios, as well as in other contemporary monuments, the representation of the Crucifixion does not adhere to one specific iconographic type. On the contrary, the painters under study in various instances, either change the position of the basic and secondary figures, or enrich the representation with different complementary episodes. An indicative example is that the iconography in Gračanica and the Chilandar monastery differs from that in the Peribleptos at Ochrid and in Staro Nagoričino, not only in the position of the Virgin and John, but also in other details, such as the depiction of the personification of the Church, which gathers in a chalice the blood and

¹⁵⁷ S. PEJIĆ, *The Monastery of St Nikolas Dabarski*. Belgrade 2009, fig. 61, sch. 6.

¹⁵⁸ MILLET, *Mistra*, pls. 123.3, 134. 5.

¹⁵⁹ PELEKANIDES, *Καστοριά*, pl. 124a.

¹⁶⁰ H. MAGUIRE, *Style and Ideology in Byzantine Imperial Art*. *Gesta* 28 (1989) 224–225. See also DERBES, *op. cit.* (note 151) 114.

¹⁶¹ MILLET – VELMANS, *La peinture*, pl. 38, fig. 78. DIMITROVA, *Matejče*, pl. XLVII.

¹⁶² On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, *Recherches* 396–460. K. WESSEL, *Die Kreuzigung*. Recklinghausen 1966. M. MRASS, *Kreuzigung Christi*. *RbK* 5 (1995) 284–356.

water from Christ's pierced side. Additionally, the episode of the Dividing of Christ's clothes¹⁶³ is included in the scene in the Peribleptos and the Chilandar monastery, but is omitted from that of the church of Sts Joachim and Anne in Studenica (Kraljeva crkva) (1314).¹⁶⁴

Joseph of Arimathea asking Pilate for the Body of Christ (2.18)¹⁶⁵ Inscription: Destroyed. On the left, in front of a complex architectural construction, Pilate sits on a throne with back and raises his hand to address Joseph of Arimathea, who asks for the body of Christ in order to give it a proper burial. Joseph bows and outstretches his hand towards the Roman procurator. Next to Pilate stands a soldier with a sword and a shield, and behind him is a male slave, possibly of Eastern origin, as can be assumed by the turban on his head (fig. 16).

The theme of the Request for the Body of the Lord is known as early as the Middle Byzantine period and appears pre-eminently in manuscripts, such as Laur. VI 23, fols. 59v, 163r, 209r,¹⁶⁶ Par. Coisl. gr. 239, f. 18v (11th c.),¹⁶⁷ cod. 93, f. 85r of the National Library of Athens (late 12th century)¹⁶⁸ and the Gospel in the Hellenic Institute in Venice fols. 19v and 309v.¹⁶⁹ It passed from Middle Byzantine manuscripts into Palaiologan monumental painting, keeping its basic iconographic scheme. At the same time it was enriched by the elaborate architectural backdrop and the increase in the number of persons, who with their animated gestures heighten the dramatic tension, as can be seen in the Protaton¹⁷⁰ Dečani¹⁷¹ and in other monuments.¹⁷²

The Descent from the Cross (2.19)¹⁷³ Inscription: *Η ΑΠΟΚΑΘΗΛΩΣΙΣ*. The episode is mentioned, briefly, in the Gospels of Matthew (27:57–61) and Luke (24:53). However, apocryphal and patristic texts acted as sources of inspiration for elaborating the subject, and specifically the depiction of the Virgin in the Middle Byzantine period.

The representation (fig. 17) is organized symmetrically around the axes of the Cross. Covering the vertical axis is Joseph of Arimathea, who has climbed a ladder and holds the detached body of Christ, while at the base of the Cross the half-kneeling Nicodemus removes with a pair of pincers the nails from Christ's feet. Next to him is the basket in which the nails are placed. The Virgin, in the usual position¹⁷⁴ on Joseph's right, stands on a footstool and tenderly embraces the lifeless body

¹⁶³ The Dividing of Christ's clothes is depicted quite frequently in monuments in the Serbian kingdom and I cite indicatively Lesnovo (GABELIĆ, Lesnovo, pl. 30) and Dečani (PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, *op. cit.* pl. CLXXVIII).

¹⁶⁴ G. BABIĆ, Kraljeva crkva u Studenici. Belgrade 1987, fig. 106.

¹⁶⁵ MILLET, Recherches 465–466.

¹⁶⁶ VELMANS, Le tétraévangile, fig. 265.

¹⁶⁷ G. GALAVARIS, The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus (*Studies in Manuscript Illumination* 6). Princeton 1969, 178, pl. XXXVI, fig. 191.

¹⁶⁸ R. NELSON, Text and image in a Byzantine Gospel Book in Istanbul (Ecumenical Patriarchate, cod. 3). New York 1978, fig. 87. E.C. CONSTANTINIDES, The Tetraevangelion, Manuscript 93 of the Athens National Library. *DChAE* 4/9 (1977–1979) 201, pl. 68. MARAVA-CHATZINIKOLAOU – TOUFEXI-PASCHOU, Κατάλογος μικρογραφιών, fig. 638.

¹⁶⁹ A. XYNGOPOULOS, Τὸ ἱστορημένον Εὐαγγέλιον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἰνστιτούτου τῆς Βενετίας. *Thesaurismata* 1 (1962) 65–67. S. KADAS, Το εικονογραφημένο χειρόγραφο αρ. 2 τῆς μονῆς Ἁγίου Παντελεήμονος (Ἁγιον Ὄρος). Συμβολή στη μελέτη των βυζαντινῶν Εὐαγγελίων. Thessaloniki 2001, pl. 51γ–δ.

¹⁷⁰ MILLET, Athos, pl. 27.1.

¹⁷¹ PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, Dečani pl. CCXI.

¹⁷² Peribleptos at Mystras (MILLET, Mistra, pl. 122.2, S. DUFRENNE, Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra (*Bibliothèque des Cahiers Archéologiques* IV). Paris 1970, 15, 17, fig. 65), the Virgin Guberniotissa in Crete (M. VASSILAKIS-MAVRAKAKIS, The Church of the Virgin Guberniotissa at Potamies, Crete [unpublished PhD]. London 1986, 215–216, fig. 158) and Manasija (B. ŽIVKOVIĆ, Manasija. Les dessins des fresques [*Les monuments de la peinture serbe médiévale* 2]. Belgrade 1983, sch. III.24).

¹⁷³ On the iconography of the scene see MILLET, Recherches 467–482. Y. NAGATSUKA, La Descente de Croix. Son développement iconographique des origines jusqu'à la fin du XIV^e siècle. Tokyo 1979.

¹⁷⁴ As a rule the Virgin is depicted on the left of the representation and John on the right, under the influence of the iconography of the Crucifixion. See MILLET, *op. cit.* 470.

of her Son and, as it leans upon her shoulder, supports his face on her cheek. The Myrrh-bearer – most probably Mary Magdalene – at the head of the group of women behind the Virgin holds Christ's right hand reverently with her maphorion, while John, on Joseph's left and on the right of the representation, clasps Christ's left hand in his hands and brings it up to his face. Behind John are two other Myrrh-bearing Women lamenting. On either side of the inscription *O BACIAEYC THC ΔΟΞΗC* (The King of Glory) fly two mourning angels.

The representation of the Descent from the Cross is encountered in monumental painting and in manuscript miniatures after Iconoclasm. It had already been established in the iconographic programme of churches from the tenth century, as evidenced by the case of the Old Tokali Kilisse (first quarter of the 10th century).¹⁷⁵ Here, apart from the familiar positions of the Virgin and John, there is a singularity in the depiction of Joseph, who has not climbed up to the Cross but stands on the ground and brings down Christ's body, as also in Laur. VI 23, f. 96.¹⁷⁶ The spare iconography in both the Cappadocian church and the Florence Gospel is underlined by the absence of the Myrrh-bearers and the flying angels in lament. The iconographic theme was to change significantly during the Middle Byzantine period, under the influence of patristic literature, as research has demonstrated.¹⁷⁷ These changes were elaborated fully by the twelfth century and specifically in the wall-paintings of Nerezi (1164)¹⁷⁸ and Kurbinovo (1196),¹⁷⁹ and were retained in the Palaiologan period, when the dramatic character of the representation reached its climax.

The representation in Staro Nagoričino displays close iconographic affinity with the scenes in the Protaton,¹⁸⁰ Gračanica,¹⁸¹ the Peribleptos at Mystras¹⁸² and St Andreas at Treska.¹⁸³ On the contrary, in St Niketas at Čučer,¹⁸⁴ Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios did not follow the current iconography, but opted for a purely Middle Byzantine scheme, which is formed as follows: Joseph has not climbed the ladder, but stands beside the Virgin, holding Christ's body, while Nicodemus removes the nails, not from the feet, but from Christ's left hand, and last, John kneels at the base of the Cross and piously venerates the feet of the Crucified Christ.

The Entombment (2.20) Inscription: *O ENΤΑΦΙΑΣΜΟC ΤΟΥ Χ(Ρ)ΙCΤΟΥ*. The episode is described only in the Gospel of John (19:39–42), who reports that Christ's body was placed in the sepulchre by Joseph of Arimathea and Nicodemus. In Staro Nagoričino John too participates in the Entombment (fig. 18). Together with Joseph, he holds the body of Christ in winding sheets, ready to place it in a sarcophagus inside the cave-like tomb at the right edge of the representation. In front of the arched opening to the tomb stands Nicodemus, who outstretches his hands to receive the body from Joseph. The burial of Christ is observed by the Myrrh-bearing Women at the left edge of the rocky landscape. The sorrowful Virgin with loosened hair brings her hand to her face and Mary Magdalene beside her comforts her. The dramatic character of the scene is completed by the flying angels in lament.

¹⁷⁵ A. WHARTON-EPSTEIN, Tokali Kilise. Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Byzantine Cappadocia. (DOS 22). Washington, D.C. 1986, fig. 38.

¹⁷⁶ VELMANS, Le tétraévangile, pl. 40, fig. 178.

¹⁷⁷ MILLET, Recherches 467. TSITOURIDOU, "Άγιος Νικόλαος 126.

¹⁷⁸ I. SINKEVIĆ, The Church of St. Panteleimon at Nerezi. Architecture, Programme, Patronage. Wiesbaden 2000, fig. XLV.

¹⁷⁹ L. HADERMANN-MISGUICH, Kurbinovo. Les fresques de Saint-Georges et la peinture byzantine du XIIe siècle. Brussels 1975, fig. 72.

¹⁸⁰ MILLET, Athos, pl. 27.2.

¹⁸¹ ŽIVKOVIĆ, Gračanica IV4.

¹⁸² MILLET, Mistra, pl. 122. 3.

¹⁸³ PROLOVIĆ, Treska fig. 32.

¹⁸⁴ MILLET – FROLOW, *op. cit.* pl. 44.4. The scene is rendered in similar manner in the Chilandar monastery (MILLET, Athos pl. 73.1) and in Matejić (MILLET – VELMANS, La peinture, pl. 43, fig. 88).

The theme of the Entombment, in its basic iconographic scheme, is known as early as the ninth century¹⁸⁵ and together with that of the Lamentation is united in one composition,¹⁸⁶ which was to be depicted often in Middle Byzantine painting. According to research in this period, apocryphal and patristic texts made a significant contribution to the elaboration of this scene.¹⁸⁷

In the Palaiologan period the Entombment and the Lamentation are two separate subjects, the second of which is depicted more frequently. A distinctive element of the Palaiologan iconography of the Entombment is that the persons playing an active role in the episode are not fixed, but alternate. Joseph with John entomb Christ in Gračanica,¹⁸⁸ Joseph and Simon of Cyrene in Dečani,¹⁸⁹ while sometimes the Virgin is moved from the group of Myrrh-bearers and holds the body of her Son, either together with Joseph¹⁹⁰, or with John¹⁹¹.

It emerges from the iconographic study of the Passion cycle in Staro Nagoričino that the painters Michael Astrapas and Eutychios, on the one hand consciously relied on Middle Byzantine models, particularly in scenes with a long iconographic tradition, whereas, on the other they made an effort to innovate, either by presenting in new ways subjects rather rare in monumental painting, or by introducing new subjects inspired by the gospels or apocryphal texts.

More specifically, for traditional iconographic subjects (Washing of the Feet, Prayer in Gethsemane, Betrayal by Judas, Mocking of Christ, Denials and Remorse of Peter, Christ Judged by Pilate, Road to Calvary, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross), the two painters follow the earlier basic iconographic scheme and proceed to minor changes which, as a rule, serve to increase the dramatic tension of the scene. The latter is a typical characteristic of the Palaiologan period. These changes are concentrated mainly on the increasing of the number of the figures, on the pose and gestures of Christ and of the other protagonists, as well as on the enrichment of the scenes with secondary iconographic elements deriving from the sources.

In practice Michael Astrapas and Eutychios re-design the basic Middle Byzantine iconographic forms, aiming primarily, on the one hand, to depict the scenes in detail, while on the other hand, to strengthen the figures portrayed. These changes in iconography of the above mentioned themes, which depict the most important episodes of the cycle in Staro Nagiričino, have been used before in the Peribleptos at Ochrid. A number of these iconographic “solutions” bear a close resemblance to the Passion cycle scenes at the Protaton of Mount Athos. The workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios and the one which decorated the Protaton, belong in the same tradition and share common artistic and spiritual beliefs; however, despite their close resemblances and affiliation they should be viewed as separate and autonomous artistic entities. Moreover, it is important to denote that artistic affiliation can be observed, apart from the Passion cycle scenes, in other lesser known themes¹⁹², which can act as an argument to prove the solidness of my viewpoint expressed hereby.

Scenes in the cycle that are rarely depicted in the Middle Byzantine period are treated with greater freedom by the painters, who remodel them in accordance with the manner and developments of their day, creating many-figured compositions within elaborate architectural settings (Christ Lecturing the Apostles after the Washing of the Feet, Pilate Turns Christ Over to the Jews, Christ

¹⁸⁵ As in Psalters Chludov (СЧЕРКИНА, *Miniatury hludovskoi* f. 87) and Pantokrator, f. 122r (DUFRENNE, *L' illustration* 32, pl. 19).

¹⁸⁶ M. SOTIRIOU, Ἐνταφιασμός – Θρήνος. *DChAE* 4/7 (1973–1974) 139–148.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibidem* 140–141.

¹⁸⁸ ŽIVKOVIĆ, Gračanica sch. V4 (côte septentrional).

¹⁸⁹ PETKOVIĆ – BOSKOVIĆ, Dečani, pl. CCXIV.

¹⁹⁰ As in the church of Sts Constantine and Helen at Ochrid (SUBOTIĆ, *L' église* sch. B4).

¹⁹¹ As in Treska (PROLOVIĆ, *op. cit.* 161–162, fig. 33) and Koporin (RADUJKO, *Koporin* fig. 33, sch. X [third zone], figs. 11, 33).

¹⁹² T. ΠΑΡΑΜΑΣΤΟΡΑΚΗΣ, Ὁ διάκοσμος τοῦ τρούλου τῶν ναῶν τῆς Παλαιολόγειας περιόδου στή βαλκανική χερσόνησο καί τήν Κύπρο. Athens 2001, 296–297. N. ZARRAS, Ὁ Χριστός ἐν ἐτέρα μορφῇ. *DChAE* 4/28 (2007) 213–223.

Judged by Herod and Annas, Joseph of Arimathea before Pilate). In other cases, Michael Astrapas and Eutychios introduce new iconographic subjects into the cycle (Ascent of the Cross, the type in which Christ voluntarily climbs the ladder), as well as elements that bespeak influence from Western works (Christ's position in the middle of the table in the Last Supper and the scene of the Ascent of the Cross, the type in which Christ climbs with assistance).

An examination of the Passion cycle in other monuments decorated by the workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios reveals that the two painters drew their themes from a rich repertoire of scenes they had at their disposal. As a result, the cycle differs from monument to monument, not only in the choice of subjects, but also as far as the use of different iconographic types for each subject. The latter is obvious in the scenes of the Last Supper and the Descent from the Cross in Staro Nagoričino and Čučer, where the painters used different iconographic types. As is apparent from their prolific *oeuvre*, which spans a period of twenty-five years, Michael Astrapas and Eutychios did not follow the artistic developments of their times but, on the contrary, they actively participated in formulating new ones.

Through the workshop of these important painters the Passion cycle is revitalized iconographically and reaches its most complete form. The inspirational iconographic solutions they have adopted to present, both common and uncommon iconographic themes, have influenced painters catalytically throughout the duration of the Paleologean period, as is evident in the relevant iconographic study. The depiction of the Passion cycles in Staro Nagoričino and Gračanica constitute important examples for the development of iconography during the Palaiologean period and its relation to the middle Byzantine period. Furthermore, through the study of the Passion cycle, one has the opportunity to come to grips with the structure and formulation of an iconographic programme, which will be dealt with later in detail, as well as with other issues linked to inscriptions in monumental painting.

Thus, the earlier view¹⁹³ that the Passion cycle in Staro Nagoričino lacks creative inspiration and is an artless replica of the cycle in the Protaton must be considered outmoded. It is only natural that similarities between the two monuments, as well as between other monuments of this period, exist, since both the workshop of the two Thessalonican painters and the workshop of the Protaton display artistic affinities because of the fact that they derive from a common spiritual background. Nevertheless, the Passion cycle in Staro Nagoričino, in comparison to that in the Protaton, is more extensive, more integrated and more replete in its iconography. In my view, this fact points to a greater degree of authentic creativity and artistic autonomy of the two painters, rather than fidelity to some model. For these reasons, I consider the Passion cycle in Staro Nagoričino as one of the most complete original and iconographically balanced cycles of the Palaiologean period.

THE PASSION CYCLE IN STARO NAGORIČINO AND NARRATIVITY IN THE PALAIOLOGAN PERIOD

The issue of narrativity, which is linked to extended iconographic cycles in Palaiologean painting, has not been analysed in depth by research¹⁹⁴. In the framework of the present study, I will attempt to elaborate, the basic characteristics and the development of its form within the context of the Passion cycle in Staro Nagoričino.

A necessary precondition for the formulation of narrative programmes in monumental painting is the use of architectural surfaces in such a way so as to allow for continuous depiction of scenes.

¹⁹³ SOTIRIOU, Ἡ Μακεδονικὴ Σχολή 10–17.

¹⁹⁴ On narrativity in medieval art see T. PAPANASTORAKES, Pictorial Lives. Narrative in thirteenth-century vita icons. *Museion Benaki* 7 (2007) note 4 with further bibliography.

From the surviving monuments, it is possible to discern, for the first time, in Staro Nagoričino and slightly later in Gračanica the intention of the painters, and perhaps of their advisers, who participated in designing the iconographic programme, to create a fully-defined, organized and single narrative ensemble of scenes.

The twenty-two scenes of the cycle are arranged in a zone that starts from the south wall of the Bema, runs on the sidewalls of the naos and ends at the north wall of the Bema. This means that the episodes of the Passion are recounted in a clockwise direction, creating a linear and chronological narration. This mode of continuous arrangement of scenes in a frieze is an innovation of ancient Greek art, which was adopted by the first Christian artists and survived throughout the Byzantine Era.¹⁹⁵

The gospel texts referring to the Passion, originally constituted the eleven and later the twelve pericopes¹⁹⁶ that are read at the Passion service of Holy Thursday. These lections cover the events from the Last Supper to the Entombment.

The historical sequence in the arrangement of the scenes in Staro Nagoričino is due to liturgical reasons. More specifically, it is due to the influence of the chanting of twelve gospel lections during the Service of the Maundy Thursday. As R. Taft has argued,¹⁹⁷ through the order of the gospel pericopes in the codex *Stavrou* 43, representing the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem, the historical sequence of the Passion story is presented in the most detailed form. The influence of this hagiopolite source, namely codex *Stavrou* 43, in the liturgical tradition of the Serbian Church,¹⁹⁸ and particularly in the Service of the Good Friday *Orthros* (matins) justifies the close relation between the succession of gospel events, and the temporal sequence of the narration of the episodes on the surfaces of the walls. As a result, in Staro Nagoričino a fully organized and richly detailed narrative ensemble is formulated.

The initial Passion Cycle is divided into smaller sub-cycles of scenes, which are arranged on the basis of a temporal succession of episodes, so that the narration has a clear beginning, middle and closure. More specifically, according to the gospel narratives, the basic timeframe of the Passion is as follows: the Last Supper and the Washing of the Feet, are followed by the events in Gethsemane with the Betrayal, the cycle of Christ's trials, by the Jewish chief priests and the Roman rulers, the cycle of episodes of the Cross, culminating in the Crucifixion, and the cycle of the Entombment. In certain cases, the principal events are complemented by minor episodes that function narratively, that is, as a prologue and as an epilogue of the central event, as for example in the Lecture After the Washing of the Feet, which concludes to the Last Supper cycle, or the Request for the Body of the Lord, which opens the Entombment cycle. The exact same concept, namely, the technique of smaller units within the main corpus of the narration is implemented in Staro Nagoričino and in the

¹⁹⁵ K. WEITZMANN, Narration in Early Christendom. *AJA* 61 (1957) 87. H.L. KESSLER, Pictures as Scripture in Fifth-century Churches, in: IDEM (ed.), *Studies in Pictorial Narrative*. London 1994, 357.

¹⁹⁶ The twelfth gospel of the Passion (Matthew 27:62–66) is the one read at the *Orthros* service (matins) on Holy Saturday, which at some time unknown, possibly after the eleventh century, was transposed also as twelfth gospel in the Passion service. See S. JANERAS, Le Vendredi – Saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine (*Analecta Liturgica* 12). Rome 1988, 115–124. R.F. TAFT, A Tale of two Cities. The Jerusalem-Constantinople Axis and the Formation of the “Byzantine Rite”, in: J.N. ALEXANDER (ed.), *Time and Community*. In Honor of Thomas Julian Tallex (*NPM Studies in Church Music and Liturgy*). Washington, D.C 1990, 30–31 (reprint in IDEM, *Liturgy in Byzantium and Beyond*. Ashgate 1995, VI). P. I. SKALTSIS, Τὰ Ἑωθινὰ Εὐαγγέλια, in: *Ierourgein to Euaggelion*. E Agia Graphe sten Orthodoxe Latreia. Proceedings of the V Panhellenic Liturgical Symposium. Athens 2004, 285–286.

¹⁹⁷ TAFT, *op. cit.* 27–31.

¹⁹⁸ The adoption of the liturgical tradition of Jerusalem by the Serbian Church served its self-perception as a new earthly Jerusalem. This ideology is most clearly expressed in the prologue to the Jerusalem Typikon by the Serbian archbishop Nicodemus. On this issue see TODIĆ, *Serbian Medieval Painting* 154–157 with older bibliography.

cycle of *Eothina* Gospel pericopes¹⁹⁹. The latter is organized in space exactly like the Passion cycle and is portrayed on top of that.

The technique of supplementing a major event with a number of minor episodes, dates back to the Hellenistic period;²⁰⁰ nonetheless, it was already implemented in the Passion Cycle of the Middle Byzantine monumental painting, as well as in the cycle of the Appearances of Christ after the Resurrection. This tendency to extend the cycle can clearly be observed in two of the most important monuments of this period, namely: Monreale and St Apostles in Constantinople.

In Monreale, the Passion cycle²⁰¹ comprises nine scenes (Last Supper, Washing of the Feet, Prayer in Gethsemane, Betrayal of Judas, Christ Judged by Pilate, Preparation of the Cross, Crucifixion, Descent from the Cross and Entombment), out of which, six refer to main events, whereas two (Washing of the Feet, Preparation of the Cross) can be considered as minor supplementary episodes. In the same monument, in the cycle of Appearances after the Resurrection, the aforementioned tendency becomes clearer in the narration of the events related to Emmaus. The artist depicts, before the main event of the Supper, the Way towards Emmaus and right, after the Supper the Disappearance of Christ, which is one of the most rare scenes to be encountered. Next to it one can see the Announcement of the Resurrection of Christ to his disciples by Loukas and Kleopas. This way, the artist composes within the wider Resurrection cycle, one smaller unit, namely that of the Way to Emmaus, which is one of the most extended in the history of Byzantine art.

In St Apostles,²⁰² where the cycle of Appearances after the Resurrection comprised eight scenes according to the Ekphrasis of Mesarites (1163/64–1220 c.), the painter following the same technique, portrays the scene of the Announcement of the Resurrection of Christ to Thomas²⁰³, before that of Incredulity. This way the first scene functions as an introduction to the second. Respectively, the scene of the Meal at Lake Tiberias, in turn functions as an epilogue to the main theme of the Appearance at the lake.

Returning to Staro Nagoričino, the technique of complementing a basic event with many minor episodes was to reach its peak in the monumental painting of the Palaiologan period. The first unit of scenes, which functions as the starting point of the narration of the Passion episodes, and which is strictly consistent to the gospel tradition, is that of the Last Supper. The addition of the Lecture after the Washing of the Feet attests the painter's intention to create a group of scenes with as many details as possible. This intention is observed likewise in the events in Gethsemane, with the interpolation of the rare subject of Judas taking the pieces of silver in the presence of representatives of the priesthood. This scene contributes to a wider understanding of the events related to the Betrayal as a unified narration that takes places inside the naos.

The scene of the Betrayal by Judas additionally functions semantically as an epilogue to the Last Supper, since during the meal the Lord urges Judas to implement his plan immediately. The technique of interpolation of secondary episodes alongside principal events is observed in several other

¹⁹⁹ N. ZARRAS, The Iconographical Cycle of the Eothina Gospel Pericopes in Churches from the Reign of King Milutin. *Zograf* 31 (2006–2007) 107–112.

²⁰⁰ WEITZMANN, Narration 83–84, 86. IDEM, Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art. *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 164–165, 171, 191–192, 196–197.

²⁰¹ On the Passion cycle in Monreale see, DEMUS, *op. cit.* (note 65) 284–288, pls. 68–71, E. BORSOOK, Messages in Mosaic. The Royal Programmes of Norman Sicily (1130–1187). Oxford 1990, pls. 106–111.

²⁰² On the cycle of the Appearances after the Resurrection in St Apostles see A. HEISENBERG, Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche. Zwei Basiliken Konstantins. Leipzig 1908, 64–78, 141, G. DOWNEY, Nikolaos Mesarites. Description of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople (*Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, N.S. 47, part 6). Philadelphia 1957, 882–889, 909–914. H. MAGUIRE, Truth and Convention in Byzantine Descriptions of Works of Art. *DOP* 28 (1974) 124–135 (reprint in IDEM, Rhetoric, Nature and Magic in Byzantine Art. Aldershot 1993, I). TH. BASEU-BARABAS, Zwischen Wort und Bild: Nikolaos Mesarites und seine Beschreibung des Mosaikschmucks der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel (Ende 12 Jh.). (PhD) Vienna 1992, 232–233.

²⁰³ DOWNEY, *op. cit.* 912. See also BASEU-BARABAS, *op. cit.* 218–222.

units the most characteristic being that of the Trials of Christ, with the addition of the Third Denial by Peter, Christ Judged by Herod, and the Jews Handing Christ Over to Pilate in order to crucify him. The above mentioned scenes, together with the rest in Staro Nagoričino, compose the most eloquent narrative cycle of the Trials of Christ in Palaiologan painting.

Similar cycles must have existed in other monuments, unknown to us today, where it is certain that different scenes must have been depicted. According to this line of reasoning, it is possible to justify the depiction of rare iconographic subjects that make up the Judgement cycle (Judgement by Herod, Handing Over of Christ by Caiaphas to be crucified), the Judas cycle (Judas Receiving the Pieces of Silver) and the cycle of episodes prior to the Crucifixion (Christ Refuses to Drink the Vinegar, Preparation of the Cross).

In addition to the increase in the number of episodes that illustrate the gospel narrative in parts and in considerable detail, the narrativity of the Passion cycle is further enhanced through the way in which the painters handle each scene separately. Inspired by the gospel text, they endeavour to add a theatrical dimension in several scenes, through combining gestures and movement to convey the protagonists' emotional state. This way the dramatic tension of the entire composition is intensified. The Passion cycle is perhaps the most characteristic case in which Michael Astrapas and Eutykhios superbly applied the technique of antithesis, well-known in Byzantine painting.²⁰⁴

The placement of the protagonists, their poses, movement and expressions, lead to the creation of a synthesis, whose narrational completeness surpasses the narrative of the text.²⁰⁵ In the Prayer in Gethsemane, the tension in the figure of Christ, conveyed both by his body movement and his anguished countenance, is in sharp contrast to the calmness suffusing the sleeping disciples. In the scenes of the Betrayal and the Mocking, the technique of antithesis attains its climax. A common element in both is the absolutely calm, serene and static figure of Christ, which in the first scene is in total contrast to the angry mob, which with violent gestures creates an atmosphere of tension, whereas in the second it is differentiated from the enthusiastic crowd of people enjoying themselves by deriding the Lord. Similar observations can be made for all scenes, the most characteristic being those of Peter's Denials, the Trials of Christ and the Descent from the Cross. Christ's balanced and refined gestures, in contrast to the exaggerated emotion and extreme movement of the other figures, intensify the dramatic atmosphere of the story. Additionally they act as excellent examples proving the painters' 'staging' perception in the manipulation of their subjects, creating a splendid narrative ensemble.

In light of the above, the capturing of different emotions and gestures of the persons participating in the same resurrectional episode reveals the painters' intention to render diversity and not uniformity in the handling of the wider scene. This means that the specific figures depicted in the scenes participate in the events in different ways and to different degrees.

Moreover, another element that reinforces narrativity in the Passion cycle and demonstrates the painters' desire to tell the gospel story in pictures are the lengthy inscriptions²⁰⁶ annotating the scenes. Particularly in the extensive cycles, in which the detailed recounting of all events is combined to the gospel discourse of the inscription, narrativity reaches its peak. Namely, the sacred story unfolds through words and images from one end of the naos to the other.²⁰⁷ On the surfaces depicting a continuous ensemble of scenes, the beholder follows the widely known events of the Passion, which through the unified action of persons and the unity in the flow of the cycle allow him to partake in lesser-known events. As a result, the believer acquires visual experience of the entire gospel story.

²⁰⁴ On the application of this technique in the Middle Byzantine period, see H. MAGUIRE, *The Icons of their Bodies: Saints and their Images in Byzantium*. Princeton, New Jersey 1996, 156.

²⁰⁵ MAGUIRE, *op. cit.* 186.

²⁰⁶ On the role of the inscriptions, either in individual scenes or in narrative cycles, see KESSLER, *op. cit.* 362. MAGUIRE, *op. cit.* 40–47.

²⁰⁷ Comparable observations apply also to the way of illustrating the text in manuscripts. See KESSLER, *op. cit.* 362–365.

The organized narrative space and time of the episodes is linked to the believer's space and time. This way through unified space and time the believer becomes familiar with the Passion cycle²⁰⁸ activating all his spiritual forces, regardless of his literacy or illiteracy. In the first case, he can comprehend the events by utilizing the details of image and word, that is he sees and reads, whereas in the second case he follows the episodes through image, while at the same time he listens to the corresponding gospel pericope.²⁰⁹

This important role of image is acknowledged time and time again in Christian literature.²¹⁰ Through this sense of narrative completeness, created by the continuous flow of image and word as a whole, the believer is able to immerse himself in the deeper theological meaning of the narration of the Passion cycle, which is the denoting of the human nature of Christ. This way, the explanatory power of image in Palaiologan art, makes what is theologically incomprehensible, becomes comprehensible.²¹¹

In the Middle Byzantine period painters through the increase of the number of scenes, aim at portraying the main line of narration. With reference to Monreale and St Apostles in Constantinople, artists select to depict a representative example of the facts of every cycle. This selection does not always provide a balanced narration of the facts of the cycle, which becomes clear in the events related to Emmaus. In other instances the sequence of events in Monreale does not comply to the chronological order of the episodes, which is the case in the Christological and the Ministry cycle.²¹²

In contrary to the latter, painters of the Palaiologan era, choose to devote themselves, using the maximum of the designated space, to the detailed narration of the cycle, depicting as many scenes as possible and prioritizing continuity, balance and consistency. Secondary episodes are placed next to every important event so that the narration of the biblical story retains its balance throughout all episodes. As a result, the number of scenes of the Passion cycle and of the Appearances is tripled in the Palaiologan period in comparison to the Middle Byzantine era. This booming increase of the number of scenes, I argue, is owed to the choices of the groundbreaking workshop of Michael Astrapas and Eutychios.

The inclusion of these new themes in the existing cycle demanded the greatest possible precision and realism in their temporal arrangement, based on the gospel narrative on the one hand and on the liturgical use of the sources on the other

Moreover the structuring and formulation of the narrative cycle in Staro Nagoričino is denoted by the fact that the secondary episodes, not only enrich the Passion story, but also interpret the theological message of the central event, which they supplement. The cyclical arrangement of the representation in a frieze on the walls of the naos, the systematic and organized narrative time and space, and the theatrical dimension in the manner in which the persons of the gospel story are depicted, constitute the basic principles composing narrativity in the Palaiologan period. This way, inside the naos the believer has the unique opportunity to follow the whole sacred story in a single unified ensemble, through the continuous narration of images, which unfold in a form that can be paralleled to that of an epic film.

²⁰⁸ For analogous cases in Palaiologan painting, see PAPAMASTORAKIS, *op. cit.* (note 192) 281.

²⁰⁹ On this role of the beholder-believer, see KESSLER, *op. cit.* 360–362, 377–379. H. BELTING, *Likeness and Presence: A History of the Image before the Era of Art*. Chicago 1996, 257. M.D. LAUXTERMANN, *Byzantine Poetry from Pisides to Geometres. Texts and Contexts, I (WBS 24/1)*. Vienna 2003, 272–273. See also L. JAMES, "And Shall These Mute Stones Speak?" Text as Art, in: EADEM (ed.), *Art and Text in Byzantine Culture*. Cambridge 2007, 196. R. S. NELSON, *Image and Inscription. Pleas for Salvation in Spaces of Devotion*, in: *ibidem* 108.

²¹⁰ As can be seen characteristically in the epistle from Neilos the Sinaite to the Eparch Olympiodoros. See KESSLER, *op. cit.* 361, with further bibliography.

²¹¹ R.S. NELSON, *Taxation with Representation. Visual Narrative and the Political Field of the Kariye Camii*, in: IDEM, *Later Byzantine Painting: Art, Agency and Appreciation*. Aldershot 2006, 60.

²¹² BORSOOK, *op. cit.* (note 201) 68–69, pls. 106–108.



1 Staro Nagoričino. The Last Supper (photo Nektarios Zarras)



2 Staro Nagoričino. Christ lecturing the Apostles after the Washing of the Feet (photo Nektarios Zarras)



3 Staro Nagoričino. The Prayer in Gethsemane (photo Nektarios Zarras)



4 Staro Nagoričino. Judas receiving the Pieces of Silver (photo Nektarios Zarras)



5 Staro Nagoričino. The Betrayal of Judas (photo Nektarios Zarras)



6 Staro Nagoričino. Christ Tried Before Annas (photo Nektarios Zarras)



7 Staro Nagoričino. Christ Judged by Pilate (photo Nektarios Zarras)



8 (t. l.) Staro Nagoričino. The Third Denial of Peter (photo Nektarios Zarras)

9 (t. r.) Staro Nagoričino. The Remorse of Peter (photo Nektarios Zarras)

10 (b. l.) Staro Nagoričino. Christ Judged by Herod (photo Nektarios Zarras)



11 Staro Nagoričino. Pilate Turns Christ Over to the Jews (photo Nektarios Zarras)



12 Staro Nagoričino. The Mocking of Christ (photo Nektarios Zarras)



13 Staro Nagoričino. The Road to Galvary (photo Nektarios Zarras)



14 Staro Nagoričino. The Ascent of the Cross (photo Nektarios Zarras)



15 Staro Nagoričino. The Dividing of Christ's clothes (photo Nektarios Zarras)



16 Staro Nagoričino. Joseph of Arimathea asking Pilate for the Body of Christ (photo Nektarios Zarras)



17 Staro Nagoričino. The Descent from the Cross (photo Nektarios Zarras)



18 Staro Nagoričino. The Entombment (photo Nektarios Zarras)

